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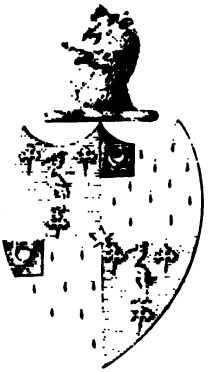

Henry Oglander.

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Swift
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THE

WORKS

OF

Dr. Jonathan Swift,

Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

VOLUME X.

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CONTENTS of Volume X.

A Propoſal for the univerſal uſe of Iriſh manufactures. p. 1
The Drapier's I. *Letter; to the tradeſmen, ſhopkeepers, and people of Ireland concerning Wood's braſs half-pence.* — — 19
———II. *Letter; to Mr. Harding, printer, about a paragraph in his news-paper on the ſame ſubject.* 44
———III. *Letter; to the nobility and gentry of Ireland, being obſervations on the report of the committee of the privy-council in England about Wood's half-pence.* — 66
———IV. *Letter; to the whole people of Ireland.* — 117
Seaſonable advice to the grand-jury, concerning the bill prepairing againſt the printer of the preceding letter. 153
An extract from the debates of the houſe of commons at Weſtminſter, Oct. 21, 1680. — — 160
The preſentment of the grand-jury of the county of the city of Dublin. 162
The Draper's V. *Letter; to the lord viſcount Moleſworth.* — 165

——————VI. *Letter; to the lord chancellor Middleton.* — 203
——————VII. *Letter; an humble addreſs to both houſes of parliament.* 239
A full and true account of the ſolemn proceſſion to the gallows at the execution of William Wood, Eſq; and hard-ware-man. — 290
A ſhort view of the ſtate of Ireland in 1727. — — 300
An anſwer to a paper called, A memorial of the poor inhabitants, tradeſmen and labourers of Ireland. 316
A vindication of his excellency John lord Carteret from the charge of favouring none but tories, high-church-men and jacobites. — — 333
Conſiderations upon two bills ſent down from the houſe of lords to the houſe of commons in Ireland, relating to the clergy. — — 369
A propoſal for an act of parliament in Ireland, to pay off the debts of that nation without taxing the ſubjects. 395
An examination of certain abuſes, corruptions and enormities in the city of Dublin. — — 407

A PRO-

A PROPOSAL FOR THE UNIVERSAL USE OF IRISH MANUFACTURE, *etc.*

Written in the Year 1721. *

IT is the peculiar felicity and prudence of the people in this kingdom, that whatever commodities or productions lie

* This treatiſe ſpread very faſt, upon which a perſon in great office ſent in haſte for the chief juſtice (*Whitſhed*), and informed him of a ſeditious, factious and virulent pamphlet lately publiſhed, with a deſign of ſetting the two kingdoms at variance, directing at the ſame time, that the printer ſhould be proſecuted with the utmoſt rigour.—The *chief juſtice* had ſo quick an underſtanding, that he reſolved if poſſible to out-do his orders.—The printer was ſeized, and forced to give great bail: — the jury brought him in not guilty, although they had been culled with the utmoſt induſtry: the *chief juſtice* ſent them back nine times, and kept them eleven hours, until, being tired out, they were *forced* to leave the matter to the mercy of the *judge by* what they call a *ſpecial verdict*. During the trial the *chief juſtice* among other ſingularities laid his hand on his breaſt, and proteſted ſolemnly, that the author's deſign was to bring in the *pretender*: but the cauſe being ſo very odious and impopular, the trial of the verdict was deferred from one term to another, untill upon (the d. of *G—ft-n*) the lord lieutenant's arrival, his grace, after mature advice and permiſſion from *England*, was pleaſed to grant a *noli proſequi*. *Pope's* works, vol. ix. letter 5.

This piece firſt turned the tide of popularity in the author's favour. *Orrery.*

under the greateſt diſcouragements from *England*, thoſe are what they are ſure to be moſt induſtrious in cultivating and ſpreading. *Agriculture*, which hath been the principal care of all wiſe nations, and for the encouragement whereof there are ſo many ſtatute-laws in *England*, we countenance ſo well, that the landlords are every where by *penal clauſes* abſolutely prohibiting their tenants from ploughing*, not ſatisfied to confine them within certain limitations, as is the practice of the *Engliſh*; one effect of which is already ſeen in the prodigious dearneſs of corn, and the importation of it from *London*, as the cheaper market. And becauſe people are the *riches of a country*, and that our *neighbours* have done, and are doing, all that in them lies to make our wool a drug to us, and a monopoly to them; therefore the politic gentlemen of *Ireland*

* It was the practice of *Iriſh* farmers to wear out their ground with *ploughing*, neither manuring nor letting it lie fallow, and when their leaſes were near expired, they ploughed even the meadows, and made ſuch havock, that the landlords by their zeal to prevent it were betrayed into this pernicious meaſure.

have depopulated vaſt tracts of the beſt land, for the feeding of ſheep.

I could fill a volume, as large as the *hiſtory of the wiſe men of Gotham*, with a catalogue only of ſome *wonderful* laws and cuſtoms we have obſerved within thirty years paſt. It is true indeed, our beneficial traffick of wool with *France* hath been our only ſupport for ſeveral years paſt, furniſhing us with all the little money we have to pay our rents, and go to market. But our merchants aſſure me, *this trade hath received a great damp by the preſent fluctuating condition of the coin in* France: *that moſt of their wine is paid for in ſpecie, without carrying thither any commodity from hence.*

However, ſince we are ſo univerſally bent upon enlarging our *flocks*, it may be worth inquiring, what we ſhall do with our wool, in caſe *Barnſtable** ſhould be over-ſtocked, and our *French* commerce ſhould fail?

I could wiſh the parliament had thought fit to have ſuſpended their re-

* A ſea-port in *Devonſhire*, at that time the principal market in *England* for *Iriſh* wool.

gulation of *church* matters, and enlargements of the *prerogative*, until a more convenient time, becauſe they did not appear very preſſing, at leaſt to the perſons *principally concerned*; and, inſtead of theſe great refinements in *politicks* and *divinity*, had *amuſed* themſelves and their committees a little with the *ſtate of the nation*. For example: what if the houſe of commons had thought fit to make a reſolution, *nemine contradicente*, againſt wearing any cloth or ſtuff in their families, which were not of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom? what if they had extended it ſo far as utterly to exclude all ſilks, velvets, callicoes, and the whole *lexicon* of female fopperies; and declared, that whoever acted otherwiſe ſhould be deemed and reputed *an enemy to the nation*? what if they had ſent up ſuch a reſolution to be agreed to by the houſe of lords; and by their own practice and encouragement ſpread the execution of it in their ſeveral countries? what if we ſhould agree to make *burying in woollen a faſhion*, as our neighbours have made it a *law*?

law?, what if the ladies would be content with *Iriſh* ſtuffs for the furniture of their houſes, for gowns and petticoats for themſelves and their daughters? Upon the whole and to crown all the reſt, let a firm reſolution be taken by *male* and *female* never to appear with one ſingle *ſhred* that comes from *England*; *and let all the people ſay*, AMEN.

I hope, and believe, nothing could pleaſe his majeſty better than to hear, that his loyal ſubjects of both ſexes in this kingdom * celebrated his *birth-day* (now approaching) *univerſally* clad in their own manufacture. Is there virtue enough left in this deluded people to ſave them from the brink of ruin? If the mens opinions may be taken, the ladies will look as handſome in ſtuffs as in brocades; and, ſince all will be equal, there may be room enough to employ their wit and fancy in chuſing and matching patterns and colours. I heard the late archbiſhop of *Tuam* mention a

* Her grace the dutcheſs of *Dorſet*, the lord lieutenant's lady, is ſaid to have appeared at the *Caſtle* in *Dublin* wholly clad in the manufacture of *Ireland* on his majeſty's birth-day 1753.

pleaſant obſervation of ſome body's; *that* Ireland *would never be happy 'till a law were made for burning every thing that came from England, except their people and their coals.* I muſt confeſs, that as to the former, I ſhould not be ſorry if they would ſtay at home; and for the latter, I hope, in a little time we ſhall have no occaſion for them.

Non tanti mitra eſt, non tanti judicis oſtrum,

but I ſhould rejoice to ſee a *ſtay-lace* from *England* be thought *ſcandalous*, and become a topick for *cenſure* at *viſits* and *tea-tables.*

If the unthinking ſhop-keepers in this town had not been utterly deſtitute of common ſenſe, they would have made ſome *propoſal to the parliament*, with a *petition* to the purpoſe I have mentioned; promiſing to improve the *cloths and ſtuffs of the nation into all poſſible degrees of fineneſs and colours, and engaging not to play the knave, according to their cuſtom, by exacting and impoſing upon the nobility and gentry, either as to the prices or the goodneſs.* For I remember,

in

in *London*, upon a general mourning the *raſcally mercers* and *woollen-drapers* would in four and twenty hours raiſe their *cloths* and *ſilks* to above a double price; and if the mourning continued long, then come whining with *petitions* to the court, *that they were ready to ſtarve, and their fineries lay upon their hands.*

I could wiſh, our ſhop-keepers would immediately think on this *propoſal*, addreſſing it to all perſons of quality and others; but firſt be ſure to get ſomebody who can write ſenſe to put it into form.

I think it needleſs to exhort the *clergy* to follow this good example; becauſe *in a little time thoſe among them who are ſo unfortunate to have had their birth and education in this country, will think themſelves abundantly happy, when they can afford Iriſh crape and an Athlone hat*; and as to the others, *I ſhall not preſume* to direct them. I have indeed ſeen the preſent archbiſhop of *Dublin* clad from head to foot in our own manufacture; and yet, under the roſe be it

ſpoken, *his grace deſerveth as good a gown as if he had not been born among us.**

I have not courage enough to offer one ſyllable on this ſubject to *their honours* of the army: neither have I ſufficiently conſidered the great importance of *ſcarlet and gold lace.*

The fable in *Ovid* of *Arachne* and *Pallas* is to this purpoſe. The goddeſs had heard of one *Arachne*, a young virgin very famous for *ſpinning* and *weaving*: they both met upon a trial of ſkill; and *Pallas* finding herſelf almoſt equalled in her own art, ſtung with rage and envy, knockt her *rival* down, and turned her into a ſpider; enjoining her to *ſpin and weave* for ever *out of her own bowels*, and *in a very narrow compaſs.* I confeſs, that from a boy I always pitied poor *Arachne*, and could never heartily love the goddeſs, on account of ſo *cruel and unjuſt a ſentence*; which however is *fully executed* upon *us* by *England*, with further additions of *rigour* and *ſeverity*, for the greateſt part of *our*

* Doctor KING.

bowels and *vitals* is extracted without allowing us * the liberty of *ſpinning* and *weaving* them.

The ſcripture tells us, that *oppreſſion maketh a wiſe man mad*; therefore conſequently ſpeaking the reaſon, why ſome men are not *mad*, is becauſe they are not *wiſe*: however it were to be wiſhed, that *oppreſſion* would in time teach a little *wiſdom* to *fools*.

I was much delighted with a perſon, who hath a great eſtate in this kingdom, upon his complaints to me, *how grievouſly* poor England *ſuffers by impoſitions from* Ireland: that we *convey our own wool to* France, *in ſpight of all the* harpies *at the cuſtom-houſe: that Mr.* Shuttleworth, *and others on the* Cheſhire *coaſts, are ſuch fools to ſell us their* bark *at a good price for tanning* our own hides *into leather, with other enormities of the like weight and kind.* To which

* In the ſpring 1753 the parliament of *England* paſſed an act for permitting the exportation of wool, and woolen or bay yarn, from any port in *Ireland* to any port in *England*: which was before prohibited. And

In the winter 1753 the *Iriſh* parliament prohibited the importation of gold and ſilver lace, except *of the manufacture of England.*

I will

I will venture to add more: *that the* mayoralty *of this city is always executed by an inhabitant, and often by a native, which might as well be done by a deputy with a moderate ſalary, whereby* poor England *loſeth at leaſt one thouſand pounds a year upon the balance: that the* governing *of this kingdom coſts the lord lieutenant three thouſand ſix hundred pounds a year; ſo much net loſs to* poor England: *that the people of* Ireland *preſume to dig for coals* in their own grounds; *and the* farmers *in the county of* Wicklow *ſend their turf to the very market of* Dublin, *to the great diſcouragement of the coal trade of* Moſtyn *, *and* Whitehaven: *that the revenues of the* Poſt-office *here, ſo righteouſly belonging to the* Engliſh *treaſury as ariſing chiefly from our own commerce with each other, ſhould be remitted to* London *clogged with that grievous burthen of exchange; and the penſions paid out of the* Iriſh *revenues to* Engliſh favourites *ſhou'd lie under the ſame diſadvantage, to the great loſs of the grantees. When a*

* *Moſtyn* in *Flintſhire*, and *Whitehaven* in *Cumberland.*

divine

divine is ſent over to a biſhoprick *here with the hopes of five and twenty hundred pounds a year; and upon his arrival he finds, alas! a dreadful diſcount of ten or twelve per cent: a* judge, *or a* commiſſioner *of the revenue has the ſame cauſe of complaint.* Laſtly, *The ballad upon* Cotter *is vehemently ſuſpected to be* Iriſh *manufacture; and yet is allowed to be ſung in our open ſtreets, under the very* noſe of the government.

Theſe are a *few* among the many hardſhips we put upon that poor kingdom of *England*; for which, I am confident, every *honeſt* man wiſheth a *remedy:* and I hear, there is a project *on foot* for tranſporting our beſt wheaten *ſtraw* by ſea and land carriage to *Dunſtable*; and *obliging us by a law* to take off yearly ſo many *tun of ſtraw hats* for the uſe of our women; which will be a *great encouragement* to the manufacture of that induſtrious town.

I would be glad to learn among the divines, whether a law *to bind men without their own conſent* be obligatory

in

in foro conſcientiæ; becauſe I find, *Scripture*, *Sanderſon*, and *Suarez*, are wholly ſilent on the matter. The oracle of *reaſon*, the great *law of nature*, and general opinion of *civilians*, wherever they treat of *limited governments*, are indeed deciſive enough.

It is wonderful to obſerve the biaſs among our people in favour of *things*, *perſons*, and *wares*, of all kinds, that come from *England*. The *printer* tells his *hawkers*, that *he has got an excellent new ſong juſt brought from* London. I have ſomewhat of a tendency that way myſelf; and upon hearing a *coxcomb* from thence diſplaying himſelf with great volubility upon the *park*, *the play-houſe*, *the opera*, *the gaming-ordinaries*, it was apt to beget in me a kind of veneration for his parts and accompliſhments. It is not many years, ſince I remember a *perſon*, who by his ſtyle and literature ſeems to have been the *corrector* of a hedge-preſs in ſome *blind-alley* about *Little-Britain*, proceed *gradually* to be an *author*, at leaſt

a

tranſlator of a lower rate, although newhat of a larger bulk, than any that w *flouriſhes* in *Grub-ſtreet*; and upon e ſtrength of this foundation come over *re, erect* himſelf up into an *orator and itician*, and lead a *kingdom* after him. iis, I am told, was the *very motive*, it prevailed on the † *author* of a play led, *Love in a hollow tree*, to do us the *our* of a viſit; preſuming, with very od reaſon, *that he was a writer of a ſu-rior claſs*. I know *another*, who for irty years paſt hath been the *common ndard of ſtupidity in England*, where he is never heard a minute in any *aſſembly*, by any *party*, with *common Chriſtian atment*; yet upon his arrival hither uld put on a *face of importance and au-rity*, talk more than ſix, without either *acefulneſs*, *propriety* or *meaning*; and at e ſame time be admired and follow-as the pattern of *eloquence* and *wiſ-m*.

Nothing hath humbled me ſo much, ſhewn a greater diſpoſition to a *con-*

† Suppoſed to be *Cæſar's Commentaries*, dedicated to the e of *Marlborough*, by col. *Bladen*.
L. *Grimſton*.

temptucus

temptuous treatment of *Ireland* in ſome chief *governors*, than that high ſtyle of ſeveral ſpeeches from the *throne*, delivered as uſual after the *royal aſſent*, in *ſome periods* of the two laſt *reigns*. Such exaggerations of the prodigious *condeſcenſions* in the prints to paſs *thoſe good laws* would have but an odd ſound at *Weſtminſter*: neither do I apprehend how any *good law* can paſs, wherein the *king's* intereſt is not as much concerned as that of the *people*. I remember, after a ſpeech on the like occaſion delivered by my lord * *Wharton*, (I think it was his laſt), he deſired Mr. *Addiſon to aſk my opinion on it:* my anſwer was, *That his excellency had very honeſtly forfeited his head, on account of one paragraph; wherein he aſſerted, by plain conſequence, a diſpenſing power in the queen.* His lordſhip owned *it was true*, but *ſwore* the words were *put into his mouth* by direct orders from court. From whence it is clear, that ſome *miniſters* in thoſe times were apt from their *high* eleva-

* Lord lieutenant.

tion

tion to look *down* upon this kingdom, as if it had been one of their *colonies of outcaſts in America.* And I obſerved a little of the ſame turn of ſpirit in *ſome great men*, from whom I expected better; although, to do them juſtice, it proved no point of difficulty to make them *correct their idea*, whereof the *whole nation* quickly found the benefit.——But that is *forgotten.* How the ſtyle hath ſince run, I am wholly a ſtranger; having never ſeen a ſpeech ſince the laſt of the queen.

I would now expoſtulate a little with our country landlords; who, by unmeaſurable *ſcrewing* and *racking* their tenants all over the kingdom, have already reduced the miſerable *people* to a worſe *condition* than the *peaſants* in *France*, or the *vaſſals* in *Germany* and *Poland*; ſo that the whole *ſpecies* of what we call *ſubſtantial farmers* will in a very few years be utterly at an end. It was pleaſant to obſerve theſe gentlemen, *labouring* with all their might for preventing the *biſhops* from letting their revenues at a moderate half value

whereby * the whole *order* would, in an age, have been reduced to manifeſt beggary), at the very inſtant when they were every where *canting* † their own land upon ſhort leaſes, and ſacrificing their *oldeſt tenants for a penny an acre advance.* I know not how it comes to paſs (and yet perhaps I know well enough), that *ſlaves* have a natural diſpoſition to be *tyrants*, and that when my *betters* give me a kick, I am apt to revenge it with ſix upon my *footman*; although perhaps he may be an honeſt and diligent fellow. I have heard *great* divines affirm, that *nothing is ſo likely to call down an univerſal judgment from heaven upon a nation, as univerſal oppreſſion*; and whether this be not already verified in part, *their worſhips* the landlords are *now* at full leiſure to conſider. Whoever travels this country, and obſerves the *face* of nature, or the *faces* and habits and dwellings of the

* Whereby, that is by *preventing* the biſhops revenues from being lett at half value. See this poſition explained and proved in the tract called *Arguments againſt enlarging the power of biſhops*, vol. ix.

† *Canting* their land is letting it to the higheſt bidder—*cant* ſignifies the ſame as *auction.*

natives,

natives, will hardly think himſelf in a land, where *law*, *religion*, *or common humanity* is profeſſed.

I cannot forbear ſaying one word upon a *thing* they call a *bank*, which I hear is projecting in this town*. I never ſaw the *propoſals*, nor underſtand any one particular of their ſcheme: what I wiſh for at preſent, is only a ſufficient proviſion of *hemp*, and *caps* and *bells*, to diſtribute according to the ſeveral degrees of *honeſty* and *prudence* in *ſome perſons*. I *hear* only of a monſtrous ſum already named; and if OTHERS do not ſoon hear of it too, and hear with a *vengeance*, then I am a gentleman of leſs ſagacity than myſelf and a very few beſides take me to be. And the jeſt will be ſtill the better, if it be true, as judicious perſons have aſſured me, that one half is altogether imaginary. The matter will be likewiſe much mended, if the merchants continue to carry off our gold, and our goldſmiths to melt down our heavy ſilver.

* This project for a *bank* in *Ireland* was ſoon afterwards brought into parliament, and rejected.

A

LETTER

TO

The Shopkeepers, Tradeſmen, Farmers, and Common People

OF

IRELAND,

CONCERNING

THE BRASS-HALF-PENCE

COINED BY ONE

WILLIAM WOOD, Hard-ware-Man,

With a *Deſign* to have them paſs in this *Kingdom.*

WHEREIN IS SHEWN

The Power of his *Patent*, the Value of his *Half-Pence*, and how far every Perſon may be obliged to take the ſame in Payments, and how to behave himſelf, in caſe ſuch an Attempt ſhould be made by WOOD, or any other Perſon.

(Very proper to be kept in every FAMILY.)

By *M. B.* DRAPIER.

Written in the Year 1724.

About the year 1722, when *Charles* duke of *Grafton* was lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, one *William Wood*, an hardware-man and a bankrupt, alledging the great want of copper money in that kingdom, procured a patent for coining 108,000 l. to paſs there as current money. The *dean* believing this meaſure to be a vile job from the beginning to the end, and that the chief procurers of the patent were to be ſharers in the profits which would ariſe from the ruin of a kingdom, aſſumed the character of a *Draper*, which for ſome reaſon he choſe to write *Drapier*, and in the following LETTERS warned the people not to receive the coin which was then ſent over.

LETTER I.

TO

The Tradeſmen, Shopkeepers, Farmers, and *Country-People* in General,

OF

THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

Brethren, Friends, Countrymen, and *Fellow-Subjects,*

WHAT I intend now to ſay to you, is, next to your duty to God and the care of your ſalvation, of the greateſt concern to yourſelves and your children; your *bread* and *cloathing*, and every common neceſſary of life, entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do moſt earneſtly exhort you, as *men*, as *Chriſtians*, as *parents*, and as *lovers of your country*, to read this paper with the utmoſt attention, or get it read to you by others; which that you may do at the leſs expence, I have ordered the *printer* to ſell it at the loweſt rate.

It is a great fault among you, that, when a perſon writes with no other intention than *to do you good, you will not be at the pains to read his advices.* One copy of this paper may ſerve a dozen of you, which will be leſs than a farthing a-piece. It is your folly, that you have no common or general intereſt in your view, not even the wiſeſt among you; neither do you know, or enquire, or care, who are your friends, or who are your enemies.

About four years ago a little book was written, to adviſe all people to wear the *manufactures of this our own dear* * *country.* It had no other deſign, ſaid nothing againſt the *king or parliament,* or any perſon whatſoever; yet the poor *printer* was proſecuted two years with the utmoſt violence, and even ſome *weavers* themſelves (for whoſe ſake it was written), being upon the JURY, *found him guilty.* This would be enough to diſcourage any man from endeavouring to do you good, when you will either neglect him, or fly in his face for

* *A propoſal for the uſe of* Iriſh *manufactures.*

his

his pains; and when he muſt expect only *danger to himſelf*, and to be fined and impriſoned, perhaps to his ruin.

However, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifeſt deſtruction before your eyes, if you do not behave yourſelves as you ought.

I will therefore firſt tell you the *plain ſtory of the fact*; and then I will lay before you how you ought to act, in common prudence, according to the *laws of your country*.

The *fact* is this: It having been many years ſince COPPER HALF-PENCE OR FARTHINGS were laſt coined in this kingdom, they have been for ſome time very ſcarce, and many *counterfeits* paſſed about under the name of *raps*: ſeveral applications were made to *England*, that we might have liberty to *coin new ones*, as in former times we did; but they did not ſucceed. At laſt one Mr. WOOD, *a mean ordinary man, a hard-ware-dealer*, procured a *patent* under his *majeſty's broad ſeal* to coin 108,000 *l.* in *copper* for this *kingdom*; which patent, however, did not oblige

any one here to take them, unleſs they pleaſed. Now you muſt know, that the *half-pence* and *farthings* in *England* paſs for very little more than they are worth: and, if you ſhould beat them to pieces, and ſell them to the *braſier*, you would not loſe much above a penny in a ſhilling. But Mr. *Wood* made his *half-pence* of ſuch *baſe metal*, and ſo much ſmaller than the *Engliſh* ones, that the *braſier* would hardly give you above a *penny* of good money for a *ſhilling* of his; ſo that this ſum of 108,000*l.* in good gold and ſilver muſt be given for *traſh*, that will not be worth above *eight* or *nine thouſand pounds* real value. But this is not the worſt; for Mr. *Wood*, when he pleaſes, may by ſtealth ſend over another 108,000*l.* and *buy all our goods for eleven parts in twelve* under the value. For example, if a *hatter* ſells a dozen of *hats* for *five ſhillings* a-piece, which amounts to *three pounds*, and receives the payment in *Wood's* coin, he really receives only the value of *five ſhillings*.

Perhaps,

Perhaps, you will wonder how ſuch an *ordinary fellow*, as this Mr. *Wood*, could have ſo much intereſt as to get his MAJESTY's broad ſeal for ſo great a ſum of bad money to be ſent to this poor country; and that all the *nobility* and *gentry* here could not obtain the ſame favour, and let us make our own *half-pence*, as we uſed to do. Now I will make that matter very plain: we are at great diſtance from the king's *court*, and have no body there to ſolicit for us, although a great number of *lords* and *'ſquires*, whoſe eſtates are here, and are our countrymen, ſpend all their *lives* and *fortunes* there: but this ſame Mr. *Wood* was able to attend conſtantly for his own intereſt; he is an *Engliſhman*, and had great friends, and, it ſeems, knew very well *where to give money* to thoſe, that would ſpeak to others, that could ſpeak to the *king*, and would tell a *fair ſtory*. And *his majeſty*, and perhaps the great lord or lords who adviſe him, might think it was for our *country's good*; and ſo, as the lawyers expreſs it, the *king* was deceived

ceived in his grant, which often happens in all reigns. And I am ſure if *his majeſty* knew that ſuch a patent, if it ſhould take effect according to the deſire of Mr. *Wood*, would utterly ruin this kingdom, which hath given ſuch great proofs of its *loyalty*, he would immediately recall it, and perhaps ſhew his diſpleaſure to *ſomebody* or *other*: but a *word to the wiſe is enough*. Moſt of you muſt have heard with what anger our *honourable houſe of commons* received an account of this *Wood's patent*. There were ſeveral *fine ſpeeches* made upon it, and plain proofs, that it was all a *wicked cheat* from the *bottom* to the *top*; and ſeveral *ſmart votes* were printed, which that ſame *Wood* had the aſſurance to anſwer likewiſe in *print*; and in ſo confident a way, as if he were a *better man* than our *whole parliament* put together.

This *Wood*, as ſoon as his *patent* was paſſed, or ſoon after, ſends over a great many *barrels of thoſe half-pence* to *Cork*, and other ſea-port *towns*; and, to get them off, offered an *hundred pounds* in

in his coin for *ſeventy* or *eighty* in ſilver: but the *collectors* of the *king's* cuſtoms very honeſtly refuſed to take them, and and ſo did almoſt every body elſe. And ſince the parliament hath condemned them, and deſired the *king* that they might be ſtopped, all the kingdom do abominate them.

But *Wood* is ſtill working under-hand to force his *half-pence* upon us; and if he can, by the help of his friends in *England*, prevail ſo far as to get an order, that the *commiſſioners* and *collectors* of the *king's* money ſhall receive them, and that the *army* is to be paid with them, then he thinks *his work* ſhall be *done*. And this is the difficulty you will be under in ſuch a caſe; for the common ſoldier, when he goes to the *market*, or *ale-houſe*, will offer this money; and, if it be refuſed, perhaps he will *ſwagger* and *hector*, and threaten to beat the *butcher*, or *ale-wife*, or take the goods by force, and throw them the bad *half-pence*. In this and the like caſes, the *ſhopkeeper*, or *victualler*, or any other *tradeſman*, has no more

to do, than to demand ten times the price of his goods, if it is to be paid in *Wood's* money; for example, twenty pence of that money for a *quart of ale*, and ſo in all things elſe, and not part with his goods till he gets the money.

For ſuppoſe you go to an *ale-houſe* with that baſe money, and the *landlord* gives you a quart for four of thoſe *half-pence*, what muſt the *victualer* do? his *brewer* will not be paid in that coin; or, if the *brewer* ſhould be ſuch a fool, the *farmers* will not take it from them for their * *bere*, becauſe they are bound, by their leaſes, to pay their rents in good and lawful money of *England*, which this is not, nor of *Ireland* neither, and the *'ſquire*, their landlord, will never be ſo bewitched to take ſuch *traſh* for his land; ſo that it muſt certainly ſtop ſomewhere or other, and wherever it ſtops, it is the ſame thing, and we are all undone.

The common weight of theſe *half-pence* is between four and five to an ounce, ſuppoſe five; then three ſhil-

* A ſort of barley in *Ireland*.

lings

lings and four-pence will weigh a pound, and conſequently twenty ſhillings will weigh ſix pounds *butter weight*. Now there are many hundred *farmers*, who pay two hundred pounds a year rent; therefore, when one of theſe *farmers* comes with his half year's rent, which is one hundred pounds, it will be at leaſt ſix hundred pounds weight, which is three horſes load.

If a *'ſquire* has a mind to come to town to buy cloaths, and wine, and ſpices for himſelf and family, or perhaps to paſs the winter here, he muſt bring with him five or ſix horſes well loaden with *ſacks*, as the farmers bring their corn; and, when his lady comes in her coach to our ſhops, it muſt be followed by a car loaded with Mr. *Wood's* money. And I hope we ſhall have the grace to take it for no more than it is worth.

They ſay *'ſquire Conolly** hath *ſixteen* thouſand pounds a year; now, if he ſends for his *rent* to town, as it is likely he doth, he muſt have two hundred and

* Then ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.

fifty

fifty *horſes* to bring up his half-year's *rent*, and two or three great cellars in his houſe for ſtowage. But what the *bankers* will do, I cannot tell: for I am aſſured, that ſome great *bankers* keep by them forty thouſand pounds in ready caſh, to anſwer all payments: which ſum, in Mr. *Wood's* money, would require twelve hundred horſes to carry it.

For my own part, I am already reſolved what to do: I have a pretty good ſhop of *Iriſh* ſtuffs and *ſilks*, and inſtead of taking Mr. *Wood's* bad copper, I intend to truck with my neighbours the *butchers* and *bakers* and *brewers*, and the reſt, *goods* for *goods*; and the little *gold* and *ſilver* I have, I will keep by me, like my heart's blood, till better times, or until I am juſt ready to ſtarve; and then I will buy Mr. *Wood's* money, as my father did the braſs money in king *James's* time, who could buy *ten* pounds of it with a *guinea*; and I hope to get as much for a *piſtole*, and ſo purchaſe *bread* from thoſe who will be ſuch fools as to ſell it me.

Theſe

Theſe *half-pence*, if they once paſs, will ſoon be *counterfeited*, becauſe it may be cheaply done, the *ſtuff* is ſo *baſe*. The *Dutch* likewiſe will probably do the ſame thing, and ſend them over to us to pay for our *goods*; and Mr. *Wood* will never be at reſt, but coin on; ſo that in ſome years we ſhall have at leaſt five times 108,000 *l.* of this *lumber*. Now the current money of this kingdom is not reckoned to be above four hundred thouſand pounds in all; and while there is a *ſilver* ſix-pence left, theſe *blood-ſuckers* will never be quiet.

When once the *kingdom* is reduced to ſuch a condition, I will tell you what muſt be the end: the *gentlemen of eſtates* will all turn off their *tenants* for want of payments, becauſe, as I told you before, the *tenants* are obliged by their leaſes to pay *ſterling*, which is lawful current money of *England*: then they will turn their own *farmers*, as too many of them *do already*; run *all* into *ſheep*, where they can, keeping only ſuch other cattle as are neceſſary; then they will be their own *merchants*, and ſend their *wool*, and *butter*,

ter, and *hides*, and *linen* beyond ſea for ready *money*, and *wine*, and *ſpices*, and *ſilks*. They will keep only a few miſerable *cottagers*: the *farmers* muſt *rob*, or *beg*, or *leave* their country; the *ſhopkeepers* in this and every other town muſt *break* and *ſtarve*; for it is the *landed man* that maintains the *merchant*, and *ſhopkeeper*, and *handicraftſman*.

But when the *'ſquire* turns *farmer* and *merchant* himſelf, all the good money he gets from abroad, he will hoard up to ſend for *England*, and keep ſome poor *taylor* or *weaver* and the like in his own houſe, who will be glad to get bread at any rate.

I ſhould never have done, if I were to tell you all the miſeries that we ſhall undergo, if we were ſo *fooliſh* and *wicked* as to take this *curſed coin*. It would be very hard, if all *Ireland* ſhould be put into *one ſcale*, and this ſorry fellow *Wood* into the other; that Mr. *Wood* ſhould weigh down this *whole kingdom*, by which *England* gets above a million of good money every year clear

clear into their *pockets*: and that is more than the *Engliſh* do by *all the world* beſides.

But your *great comfort* is, that as his majeſty's *patent* doth not oblige you to take this *money*, ſo the *laws* have not given the *crown* a power of forcing the *ſubject* to take what *money* the *king* pleaſes; for then, by the ſame reaſon, we might be bound to take *pebble-ſtones*, or *cockle-ſhells*, or *ſtamped leather*, for *current coin*, if ever we ſhould happen to live under an ill *prince*, who might likewiſe, by the ſame power, make a *guinea* paſs for *ten pounds*, a *ſhilling* for *twenty ſhillings*, and ſo on; by which he would, in a ſhort time, get all the *ſilver* and *gold* of the *kingdom* into his own hands, and leave us nothing but *braſs* or *leather*, or what he pleaſed. Neither is any thing reckoned more *cruel* and *oppreſſive* in the *French* government, than their common practice of calling in all their money, after they have ſunk it very low, and then coining it anew at a much higher valüe; which, however, is not the thouſandth part ſo

wicked as this *abominable project* of Mr. *Wood*. For the *French* give their ſubjects *ſilver* for *ſilver*, and *gold* for *gold*; but this *fellow* will not ſo much as give us good *braſs* or *copper* for our *gold* and *ſilver*, nor even a twelfth part of their worth.

Having ſaid this much, I will now go on to tell you the judgement of ſome great *lawyers* in this matter; whom I fee'd on purpoſe for your ſakes, and got their *opinions* under their *hands*, that I might be ſure I went upon good grounds.

A famous law-book, *called the* mirrour of juſtice, *diſcourſing of the charters (or laws) ordained by our* ancient kings, *declares the law to be as follows: it was ordained that no* king *of this realm ſhould change or impair the* money, *or make any other* money *than of* gold *or* ſilver, *without the aſſent of all the counties*; *that is, as* my lord Coke* *ſays, without the aſſent of* parliament.

This book is very ancient, and of great authority for the time in which it was written, and with that character

* 1 Inſt 57.

is

is often quoted by that great lawyer *my lord Coke* *. By the laws of *England* ſeveral metals are divided into *lawful* or *true metal*, and *unlawful* or *falſe metal*; the former comprehends *ſilver* or *gold*, the latter all *baſer metals*; that the former is only to paſs in payments, appears by an act of *parliament* † made the twentieth year of *Edward the firſt*, called, *the ſtatute concerning the paſſing of pence*; which I give you here as I got it tranſlated into *Engliſh*; for ſome of our *laws* at that time were, as I am told, written in *Latin*: *Whoever in buying or ſelling preſumes to refuſe an half-penny or farthing of lawful money, bearing the ſtamp which it ought to have, let him be ſeized on as a contemner of the king's majeſty, and caſt into priſon.*

By this *ſtatute*, no perſon is to be reckoned a *contemner* of the *king's majeſty*, and for that crime to be *committed to priſon*, but he who refuſeth to accept the king's coin made of *lawful metal*; by which, as I obſerved before, *ſilver* and *gold* only are intended.

* 2 Inſt. 576, 7. † 2 Inſt. 577.

That this is the true *conſtruction* of the *act*, appears not only from the plain meaning of the words, but from my lord *Coke's* * obſervation upon it. By this act (ſays he) it appears, that no ſubject can be forc'd to take, in *buying*, or *ſelling*, or other *payment*, any money made but of *lawful metal*; that is, of *ſilver* or *gold*.

The law of *England* gives the king all mines of *gold* and *ſilver*; but not the mines of other *metals*; the reaſon of which *prerogative* or *power*, as it is given by my lord *Coke* †, is becauſe money can be made of *gold* and *ſilver*, but not of other *metals*.

Purſuant to this opinion, *half-pence* and *farthings* were anciently made of *ſilver*, which is evident from the act of *parliament* of *Henry* the fourth, chap. 4. whereby it is enacted as follows: *Item, for the great ſcarcity that is at preſent within the realm of* England *of half-pence and farthings of* ſilver, *it is ordained and eſtabliſhed, that the third part of all the* money *of* ſilver plate

* 2 Inſt. 577. † 2 Inſt. 577.

which

which ſhall be brought to the bullion, *ſhall be made into* half-pence *and* farthings. This ſhews, that the words *half-penny* and *farthing* of lawful money in that *ſtatute* concerning the *paſſing* of pence, is meant a ſmall coin in *half-pence* and *farthings* of *ſilver*.

This is further manifeſt from the ſtatute of the ninth year of *Edward* the third, chap. 3. which enacts, *that no ſterling* half-penny *or* farthing *be molten for to make veſſels, or any other thing by the* goldſmiths, *nor others, upon the forfeiture of the* money *ſo molten (or melted)*.

By another act in this king's reign, *black money* was not to be current in *England*. And by an act made in the eleventh year of his reign, chap. 5. *galley half-pence* were not to paſs: what kind of coin theſe were, I do not know; but I preſume they were made of *baſe metal*. And theſe acts were no new *laws*, but further declarations of the old *laws* relating to the coin.

Thus the *law* ſtands in relation to *coin*. Nor is there any example to the

contrary, except one in *Davis's reports*, who tells us, that, in the time of *Tyrone's* rebellion, queen *Elizabeth* ordered *money* of *mixed metal* to be coined in the Tower of *London*, and ſent over hither for the payment of the *army*, obliging all people to receive it; and commanding that all *ſilver money* ſhould be taken only as *bullion*; that is, for as much as it weigh'd. *Davis* tells us ſeveral particulars in this matter, too long here to trouble you with, and that the *privy council* of this kingdom obliged a *merchant* in *England* to receive this *mixt money* for goods tranſmitted hither.

But this proceeding is rejected by all the beſt lawyers, as contrary to law, the *privy council* here having no ſuch legal power. And, beſides, it is to be conſidered, that the QUEEN was then under great difficulties by a *rebellion* in this *kingdom* aſſiſted from *Spain*; and whatever is done in great exigences and dangerous times, ſhould never be an example to proceed by in ſeaſons of *peace* and *quietneſs*.

I will now, my dear friends, to ſave you the trouble, ſet before you in ſhort, what the *law* obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you to.

Firſt, you are obliged to take all money in payments which is coined by the *king*, and is of the *Engliſh* ſtandard or weight, provided it be of *gold* or *ſilver*.

Secondly, you are not obliged to take any money which is not of *gold* or *ſilver*; not only the *half-pence* or *farthings* of *England*, but of any other country. And it is merely for convenience, or eaſe, that you are content to take them; becauſe the cuſtom of coining ſilver *half-pence* and *farthings* hath long been left off; I ſuppoſe on account of their being ſubject to be loſt.

Thirdly, much leſs are we obliged to take thoſe *vile half-pence* of that ſame *Wood*, by which you muſt loſe almoſt eleven pence in every ſhilling.

Therefore, my friends, ſtand to it one and all: refuſe this *filthy traſh*. It is no treaſon to rebel againſt Mr. *Wood*. His *majeſty*, in his patent, obliges no-

body to take theſe *half-pence*: our *gracious prince* hath no ſuch ill adviſers about him; or, if he had, yet you ſee, the laws have not left it in the *king's* power to force us to take any coin but what is lawful, of right ſtandard, *gold* and *ſilver*. Therefore you have nothing to fear.

And let me in the next place apply myſelf particularly to you, who are the poorer ſort of *tradeſmen*. Perhaps you may think, you will not be ſo great loſers as the rich, if theſe *half-pence* ſhould paſs; becauſe you ſeldom ſee any *ſilver*, and your cuſtomers come to your ſhops or ſtalls with nothing but *braſs*, which you likewiſe find hard to be got. But you may take my word, whenever this money gains footing among you, you will be utterly undone. If you carry theſe *half-pence* to a ſhop for *tobacco* or *brandy*, or any other thing that you want; the ſhopkeeper will advance his goods accordingly, or elſe he muſt break, and leave the *key under the door*. *Do you think I will ſell you a yard of ten-penny ſtuff for* twenty *of Mr.* Wood's *half-pence? No, not under* two hundred *at leaſt*; *nei-*

ther will I be at the trouble of counting, but weigh them in a lump. I will tell you one thing further, that if Mr. *Wood's* project ſhould take, it would ruin even our *beggars*; for when I give a *beggar* a half-penny, it will quench his thirſt, or go a good way to fill his belly; but the twelfth part of a half-penny will do him no more ſervice than if I ſhould give him three pins out of my ſleeve.

In ſhort, theſe *half-pence* are like the *accurſed thing*, which, as the *ſcripture* tells us, *the children of Iſrael* were forbidden to *touch.* They will run about *like the plague, and deſtroy every one who lays his hands upon them.* I have heard *ſcholars* talk of a man who told the king, that he had invented a way to torment people by putting them into a *bull of braſs* with fire under it: but the *prince* put the *projector* firſt into his *brazen bull* to make the experiment. This very much reſembles the *project* of Mr. *Wood*; and the like of this may poſſibly be Mr. *Wood's* fate; that the *braſs* he contrived to torment this

this kingdom with, may prove his own torment, and his deſtruction at laſt.

N. B. The author of this paper is informed by perſons, who have made it their buſineſs to be exact in their obſervations on the true value of theſe *half-pence*, that any perſon may expect to get a quart of *two-penny ale* for *thirty-ſix* of them.

I deſire that all *families* may keep this paper carefully by them, to refreſh their memories whenever they ſhall have further notice of Mr. *Wood's* half-pence, or any other the like impoſture.

LETTER

LETTER II.

A LETTER TO Mr. HARDING the Printer,

UPON OCCASION OF

A Paragraph in his News-Paper of Auguſt the Firſt, 1724,

RELATING TO

Mr. WOOD's HALF-PENCE.

IN your news-letter of the firſt inſtant there is a paragraph, dated from *London July* 25th, relating to *Wood's* half-pence; whereby it is plain, what I fore-told in my *letter to the ſhopkeepers, etc.* that this vile fellow would never be at reſt; and that the danger of our ruin approaches nearer; and therefore the kingdom requires *new* and *freſh warning*. However, I take this paragraph to be, in a great meaſure, an impoſition upon the publick; at leaſt I hope ſo, becauſe I am

I am informed that *Wood* is generally his own news-writer; I cannot but obſerve from that paragraph, that this public enemy of ours, not ſatisfied to ruin us with his *traſh*, takes every occaſion to treat this kingdom with the utmoſt contempt. He repreſents *ſeveral of our merchants and traders, upon examination before a committee of council, agreeing, that there was the utmoſt neceſſity of copper money here, before his patent; ſo that ſeveral gentlemen have been forced to tally with their workmen, and give them bits of cards ſealed and ſubſcribed with their names.* What then? If a phyſician preſcribe to a patient a *dram* of phyſick, ſhall a raſcal-apothecary cram him with a *pound*, and mix it up with *poiſon?* and is not a landlord's hand and ſeal to his own labourers a better ſecurity for five or ten ſhillings than *Wood's* braſs, ten times below the real value, can be to the kingdom for an hundred and eight thouſand pounds?

But who are theſe *merchants and traders of* Ireland that made this report of

of *the utmoſt neceſſity we are under for copper money?* they are only a few betrayers of their country, confederates with *Wood*, from whom they are to purchaſe a great quantity of his coin, perhaps at half the price that we are to take it, and vend it among us, to the ruin of the publick, and their own private advantages. Are not theſe excellent witneſſes, upon whoſe integrity the fate of the kingdom muſt depend, evidences in their own cauſe, and ſharers in this work of iniquity?

If we could have deſerved the liberty of coining for ourſelves, as we formerly did, and why we have it not *is every body's wonder as well as mine*, ten thouſand pounds might have been coined here in *Dublin* of only one fifth below the intrinſic value; and this ſum with the ſtock of half-pence we then had, would have been ſufficient: but *Wood*, by his emiſſaries, enemies to GOD and this kingdom, hath taken care to buy up as many of our old half-pence as he could; and from thence the preſent want of change ariſes; to remove which

by

by Mr. *Wood's* remedy would be to cure a ſcratch on the finger by cutting off the arm. But ſuppoſing there were not one farthing of change in the whole nation, I will maintain, that five and twenty thouſand pounds would be a ſum fully ſufficient to anſwer all our occaſions. I am no inconſiderable ſhopkeeper in this town: I have diſcourſed with ſeveral of my own, and other trades, with many gentlemen both of city and country, and alſo with great numbers of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, who all agree, that two ſhillings in change for every family would be more than neceſſary in all dealings. Now, by the largeſt computation (even before that grievous diſcouragement of *agriculture*, † which hath ſo much leſſened our numbers), the ſouls in this kingdom are computed to be one million and a half; which, allowing ſix to a family, makes two hundred and fifty thouſand families, and conſequently two ſhillings to each family will amount only to five and twenty thou-

† Perhaps the prohibition from ploughing, ſee page 2.

ſand

ſand pounds; whereas this *honeſt*, *liberal*, *hard-ware-man*, *Wood*, would impoſe upon us above *four times* that ſum.

Your paragraph relates further, that Sir *Iſaac Newton* reported an *aſſay* taken at *The Tower* of *Wood's* metal; by which it appears, that *Wood* had *in all reſpects performed his contract*. His contract! with whom? was it with the parliament or people of *Ireland?* are not they to be the purchaſers? but they deteſt, abhor, and reject it as corrupt, fraudulent, mingled with dirt and traſh. Upon which he grows angry, goes to law, and will impoſe his goods upon us by force.

But your news-letter ſays, that an *aſſay* was made of the coin. How impudent and inſupportable is this! *Wood* takes care to coin a dozen or two halfpence of good metal, ſends them to *The Tower*, and they are approved, and theſe muſt anſwer all that he hath already coined, or ſhall coin for the future. It is true, indeed, that a gentleman often ſends to my ſhop for a pattern of ſtuff; I cut it fairly off, and if he likes it, he comes,

comes, or ſends, and compares the *pattern* with the whole piece, and probably we come to a bargain. But if I were to buy an hundred ſheep, and the grazier ſhould bring me one ſingle wether fat and well fleec'd, by way of *pattern*, and expect the ſame price round for the whole hundred, without ſuffering me to ſee them before he was paid, or giving me good ſecurity to reſtore my money for thoſe that were *lean*, or *ſhorn*, or *ſcabby*, I would be none of his cuſtomer. I have heard of a man who had a mind to ſell his houſe, and therefore carried a piece of *brick* in his pocket, which he ſhewed as a *pattern* to encourage purchaſers; and this is directly the caſe in point with Mr. *Wood's aſſay*.

The next part of the paragraph contains Mr. *Wood's* voluntary propoſals for *preventing any further objections or apprehenſions*.

His firſt propoſal is, *that whereas he hath already coined ſeventeen thouſand pounds, and has copper prepared to make it*

it up forty thouſand pounds, he will be content to coin no more, unleſs the EXIGENCES OF TRADE REQUIRE IT, *although his patent impowers him to coin a far greater quantity.*

To which if I were to anſwer, it ſhould be thus: let Mr. *Wood* and his crew of *founders* and *tinkers* coin on, till there is not an old kettle left in the kingdom; let them coin old leather, tobacco-pipe-clay, or the dirt in the ſtreet, and call their trumpery by what name they pleaſe, from a guinea to a farthing; we are not under any concern to know how he and his tribe of accomplices think fit to employ themſelves. But I hope, and truſt, that we are all to a man fully determined to have nothing to do with him or his ware.

The king has given him a patent to coin half-pence, but hath not obliged us to take them; and I have already ſhewn in my *letter to the ſhopkeepers etc.* that the law hath not left it in the power of the *prerogative* to compel the ſubject to take any money, beſides gold and ſilver of the right ſterling and ſtandard.

Wood further propoſes (if I underſtand him right, for his expreſſions are dubious), that *he will not coin above forty thouſand pounds, unleſs the exigences of trade require it.* Firſt, I obſerve that this ſum of *forty thouſand pounds* is almoſt double to what I proved to be ſufficient for the whole kingdom, although we had not one of our old half-pence left. Again, I aſk, who is to be judge, when the *exigences of trade require it?* Without doubt he means *himſelf*; for as to us of this poor kingdom, who muſt be utterly ruined if this project ſhould ſucceed, we were never *once* conſulted till the matter was over, and he will judge of our *exigences* by his own; neither will theſe be ever at an end, till he and his accomplices ſhall think they have enough: and it now appears that he will not be content with all our gold and ſilver, but intends to buy up our goods and manufactures with the ſame coin.

I ſhall not enter into examination of the prices for which he now propoſes to ſell his half-pence, or what he calls his

his copper, by the pound; I have ſaid enough of it in my former letter, and it hath likewiſe been conſidered by others. It is certain, that by his own firſt computation we were to pay three ſhillings for what was intrinſically worth but one, although it had been of the true weight and ſtandard for which he pretended to have contracted; but there is ſo great a difference both in weight and badneſs in ſeveral of his coins, that ſome of them have been nine in ten below the intrinſic value, and moſt of them ſix or ſeven.

His laſt propoſal being of a peculiar ſtrain and nature, deſerves to be very particularly conſidered both on account of the matter and the ſtyle. It is as follows:

Laſtly, *In conſideration of the direful apprehenſions which prevail in* Ireland, *that Mr.* Wood *will by ſuch coinage drain them of their gold and ſilver*; *he propoſes to take their manufactures in exchange, and that no perſon be* obliged *to*

receive more than five-pence half-penny at one payment.

First obſerve this little impudent *hard-ware-man* turning into ridicule *the direful apprehenſions of a whole kingdom*, priding himſelf as the cauſe of them, and daring to preſcribe (what no king of *England* ever attempted) how far a whole nation ſhall be obliged to take his braſs coin. And he has reaſon to inſult: for ſure there was never an example in hiſtory of a great kingdom kept in awe for above a year, in daily dread of utter deſtruction, not by a powerful invader at the head of twenty thouſand men, not by a plague or a famine, not by a tyrannical prince (for we never had one more gracious), or a corrupt adminiſtration, but by one ſingle, diminutive, inſignificant mechanick.

But to go on: to remove our *direful apprehenſions, that he will drain us of our gold and ſilver by his coinage*, this little arbitrary *mock-monarch* moſt graciouſly offers to *take our manufactures*

in

in exchange. Are our *Iriſh* underſtandings indeed ſo low in his opinion? Is not this the very miſery we complain of; that his curſed project will put us under the neceſſity of ſelling our goods for what is equal to *nothing?* How would ſuch a propoſal ſound from *France* or *Spain*, or any other country with which we traffick, if they ſhould offer to deal with us only upon this condition, that we ſhould take their money at ten times higher than the intrinſic value? Does Mr. *Wood* think, for inſtance, that we will ſell him a ſtone of wool for a parcel of his *counters* not worth *ſix-pence*, when we can ſend it to *England*, and receive as many ſhillings in gold and ſilver? ſurely there was never heard ſuch a compound of impudence, villainy, and folly.

His propoſals conclude with perfect *high treaſon.* He promiſes, that *no perſon ſhall be* obliged *to receive more than five-pence half-penny of his coin in one payment.* By which it is plain, that he pretends to *oblige* every ſubject in this kingdom to take ſo much in every pay-

ment, if it be offered; whereas his patent *obliges* no man, nor can the prerogative by law claim ſuch a power, as I have often obſerved; ſo that here Mr. *Wood* takes upon him the *entire legiſlature*, and an abſolute dominion over the properties of the whole nation.

Good God! who are this wretch's *adviſers?* who are his *ſupporters*, *abettors*, *encouragers*, *or ſharers?* Mr. *Wood* will *oblige* me to take five-pence half-penny of his braſs in every payment. And I will ſhoot Mr. *Wood* and his deputies through the head like *highwaymen or houſe-breakers*, if they dare to force one farthing of their coin on me in the payment of an hundred pounds. It is no loſs of honour to ſubmit to the *lion*; but who, with a figure of a *man*, can think with patience of being devoured alive by a *rat?* He has laid a tax upon the people of *Ireland* of ſeventeen ſhillings at leaſt in the pound: a tax, I ſay, not only upon lands, but intereſt-money, goods, manufactures, the hire of handicraftſmen, labourers, and ſervants. Shopkeepers, look to yourſelves! *Wood* will

will *oblige* and force you to take five-pence half-penny of his traſh in every payment; and many of you receive twenty, thirty, forty payments in one day, or elſe you can hardly find bread: and pray conſider how much that will amount to in a year; twenty times five-pence half-penny is nine ſhillings and two-pence, which is above an hundred and ſixty pounds a year, wherein you will be loſers of at leaſt one hundred and forty pounds by taking your payments in his money. If any of you be content to deal with Mr. *Wood* on ſuch conditions, you may; but for my own particular, *let his money periſh with him.* If the famous Mr. *Hampden* rather choſe to go to priſon, than pay a few ſhillings to king *Charles* I, without authority of parliament; I will rather chuſe to be *hanged* than have all my ſubſtance taxed at ſeventeen ſhillings in the pound at the arbitrary will and pleaſure of the venerable Mr. *Wood.*

The paragraph concludes thus: N. B. (that is to ſay, *nota bene*, or *mark well*) *No evidence appeared from* Ireland, *or*

elſewhere, to prove the miſchiefs complained of, or any abuſes whatſoever committed in the execution of the ſaid grant.

The impudence of this remark exceeds all that went before. Firſt, the houſe of commons in *Ireland*, which repreſents the whole people of the kingdom; and ſecondly, the privy-council addreſſed his majeſty againſt theſe half-pence: what could be done more to expreſs the univerſal ſenſe of the nation? If his copper were diamonds, and the kingdom were entirely againſt it, would not that be ſufficient to reject it? muſt a committee of the whole houſe of commons, and our whole privy-council, go over to argue *pro* and *con* with Mr. *Wood*? To what end did the king give his patent for coining half-pence in *Ireland*? was it not becauſe it was repreſented to his ſacred majeſty, that ſuch a coinage would be of advantage to the good of this kingdom, and of all his ſubjects here? It is to the patentee's peril, if this repreſentation be falſe, and the execution of his patent be fraudulent and corrupt. Is he ſo wicked

wicked and foolish to think, that his patent was given him to ruin a million and a half of people, that he might be a gainer of three or fourſcore thouſand pounds to himſelf? Before he was at the charge of paſſing a patent, much more of raking up ſo much filthy droſs, and ſtamping it with his majeſty's *image and ſuperſcription*, ſhould he not firſt in common ſenſe, in common equity, and common manners, have conſulted the principal party concerned; that is to ſay, the people of the kingdom, the houſe of lords, or commons, or the privy-council? If any foreigner ſhould aſk us, *whoſe image and ſuperſcription there is on Wood's* coin? we ſhould be aſhamed to tell him, it was *Cæſar's*. In that great want of copper half-pence which he alledges we were, our city ſet up *our Cæſar's* † ſtatue in excellent copper at an expence that is equal in value to thirty thouſand pound of his coin; and we will not receive his image in worſe metal.

I obſerve many of our people putting a melancholy caſe on this ſubject. It is

† An equeſtrian ſtatue of *George* I, at *Eſſex-bridge*, *Dublin*.

true,

true, ſay they, we are all undone if *Wood's* half pence muſt paſs; but what ſhall we do, if his majeſty puts out a *proclamation* commanding us to take them? This hath often been dinned in my ears. But I deſire my countrymen to be aſſured that there is nothing in it. The king never iſſues out a *proclamation* but to enjoin what the law permits him. He will not iſſue out a *proclamation* againſt *law*; or, if ſuch a thing ſhould happen by a miſtake, we are no more obliged to obey it than to run our heads into the fire. Beſids, his majeſty will never command us by a *proclamation*, what he does not offer to command us in the *patent* itſelf. There he leaves it to our diſcretion; ſo that our deſtruction muſt be entirely owing to ourſelves. Therefore let no man be afraid of a *proclamation*, which will never be granted; and if it ſhould, yet upon this occaſion will be of no force. The king's revenues here are near four hundred thouſand pounds a year. Can you think his miniſters will adviſe him to take them in *Wood's* braſs, which will

reduce the value to fifty thouſand pounds? *England* gets a million *ſterling* by this nation; which, if this project goes on, will be almoſt reduced to nothing: and do you think thoſe who live in *England* upon *Iriſh* eſtates, will be content to take an eight or tenth part by being paid in *Wood's* droſs?

If *Wood* and his *confederates* were not convinced of our ſtupidity, they never would have attempted ſo audacious an enterprize. He now ſees a ſpirit hath been raiſed againſt him, and he only watches till it begin to flag: he goes about *watching* when to *devour us*. He hopes we ſhall be weary of contending with him; and at laſt, out of ignorance or fear, or of being perfectly tired with oppoſition, we ſhall be forced to yield: and therefore, I confeſs, it is my chief endeavour to keep up your ſpirits and reſentments. If I tell you there is a precipice under you, and that if you go forwards you will certainly break your necks; if I point to it before your eyes, muſt I be at the trouble of repeating it every morning? Are our people's *hearts*

waxed

waxed groſs? are *their ears dull of hearing?* and have *they cloſed their eyes?* I fear there are ſome few *vipers* among us, who for ten or twenty pounds gain would ſell their ſouls and their country; although at laſt it ſhould end in their own ruin, as well as ours. Be not like *the deaf adder, who refuſeth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never ſo wiſely.*

Although my letter be directed to you, Mr. *Harding*, yet I intend it for all my countrymen. I have no intereſt in this affair, but what is common to the publick: I can live better than many others: I have ſome gold and ſilver by me, and a ſhop well furniſhed; and ſhall be able to make a ſhift, when many of my betters are ſtarving. But I am grieved to ſee the coldneſs and indifference of many people, with whom I diſcourſe. Some are afraid of a *proclamation*; others ſhrug up their ſhoulders, and cry, What would you have us to do? Some give out, there is no danger at all: others are comforted, that it will be a common calamity, and they ſhall fare no

no worſe than their neighbours. Will a man, who hears midnight robbers at his door, get out of bed, and raiſe his family for a common defence; and ſhall a whole kingdom lie in a lethargy, while Mr. *Wood* comes at the head of his *confederates*, to rob them of all they have, to ruin us and our poſterity, for ever? If a highwayman meets you on the road, you give him your money to ſave your life; but God be thanked, Mr *Wood* cannot touch a hair of your heads. You have all the laws of God and man on your ſide: when he or his accomplices offer you his droſs, it is but ſaying *no*, and you are ſafe. If a madman ſhould come into my ſhop with a handful of dirt raked out of the kennel, and offer it in payment for ten yards of ſtuff, I would pity, or laugh at him; or, if his behaviour deſerved it, kick him out of my doors. And if Mr. *Wood* comes to demand my gold and ſilver, or commodities for which I have paid my gold and ſilver, in exchange for his traſh, can he deſerve or expect better treatment?

When

When the *evil day* is come (if it muſt come) let us mark and obſerve thoſe who preſume to offer theſe half-pence in payment. Let their names and trades, and places of abode, be made public, that every one may be aware of them, as betrayers of their country, and confederates with Mr. *Wood*. Let them be watched at markets and fairs; and let the firſt honeſt diſcoverer give the word about that Mr. *Wood's* half-pence have been offered, and caution the poor innocent people not to receive them.

Perhaps I have been too tedious; but there would never be an end, if I attempted to ſay all that this melancholy ſubject will bear. I will conclude with humbly offering one propoſal; which, if it were put into practice, would blow up this deſtructive project at once. Let ſome ſkilful, judicious pen draw up an *advertiſement* to the following purpoſe:

Whereas one William Wood, *hardware-man, now or lately ſojourning in the city of* London, *hath, by many miſrepreſentations, procured a patent for coining an hundred and eight thouſand pounds*

pounds in copper half-pence for this kingdom; which is a ſum five times greater than our occaſions require: And whereas it is notorious, that the ſaid Wood *hath coined his half-pence of ſuch baſe metal, and falſe weight, that they are at leaſt ſix parts in ſeven below the real value: And whereas we have reaſon to apprehend, that the ſaid* Wood *may at any time hereafter clandeſtinely coin as many more half-pence as he pleaſes: And whereas the ſaid patent neither doth, nor can* oblige *his majeſty's ſubjects to receive the ſaid half-pence in any payment, but leaves it to their voluntary choice; becauſe by law the ſubject cannot be* obliged *to take any money, except* gold *or* ſilver: *And whereas, contrary to the letter and meaning of the ſaid patent, the ſaid* Wood *hath declared, that every perſon ſhall be* obliged *to take five-pence half-penny of his coin in every payment: And whereas the houſe of commons, and privy-council, have ſeverally addreſſed his moſt ſacred majeſty, repreſenting the ill conſequences which the ſaid* coinage *may have upon this kingdom: And, laſtly, whereas it is univerſally*

univerſally agreed, that the whole nation to a man (except Mr. Wood, *and his* confederates) *are in the utmoſt apprehenſions of the ruinous conſequences that muſt follow from the ſaid* coinage; *Therefore we, whoſe names are underwritten, being perſons of conſiderable eſtates in this kingdom, and reſiders therein, do unanimouſly reſolve and declare, that we will never receive one farthing or half-penny of the ſaid* Wood's *coining; and that we will direct all our tenants to refuſe the ſaid coin from any perſon whatſoever; of which that they may not be ignorant, we have ſent them a* copy *of this* advertiſement, *to be read to them by our ſtewards, receivers, etc.*

I could wiſh, that a paper of this nature might he drawn up, and ſigned by two or three hundred principal gentlemen of this kingdom; and printed copies thereof ſent to their ſeveral tenants. I am deceived if any thing could ſooner defeat this execrable deſign of *Wood*, and his *accomplices*. This would immediately give the alarm, and ſet the kingdom on their guard; this would give

give courage to the meaneſt tenant and cottager. *How long, O Lord, righteous and true, etc.*

I muſt tell you in particular, Mr. *Harding*, that you are much to blame. Several hundred perſons have enquired at your houſe for my *Letter to the ſhopkeepers, etc.* and you had none to ſell them. Pray keep yourſelf provided with that Letter, and with this: you have got very well by the former; but I did not then write for your ſake, any more than I do now. Pray advertiſe both in every news-paper; and let it not be your fault or mine, if our countrymen will not take warning. I deſire you likewiſe to ſell them as cheap as you can.

I am your ſervant,

M. B.

Auguſt 4, 1724.

LETTER III.

SOME OBSERVATIONS UPON A PAPER, CALLED, The Report of the Committee OF The Moſt Honourable the Privy-Council in ENGLAND, Relating to WOOD's Half-pence.

TO

The NOBILITY and GENTRY of the Kingdom of IRELAND.

HAVING already written *two letters* to the people of my own level and condition, and having now very preſſing occaſion for writing a *third*; I thought I could not more properly addreſs it than to your *lordſhips* and *worſhips*.

The occaſion is this: a printed paper was ſent to me on the 18th inſtant,

entitled, *A* report *of the committee of the lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable* privy-council *in* England *relating to Mr.* Wood's *half-pence and farthings.* There is no mention made where the paper was printed; but I ſuppoſe it to have been in *Dublin:* and I have been told, that the copy did not come over in the *Gazette*, but in the *London Journal*, or ſome other print of no authority or conſequence. And, for any thing that legally appears to the contrary, it may be a contrivance to *fright* us; or a *project* of ſome printer, who hath a mind to make a penny by publiſhing ſomething upon a ſubject which now employs all our thoughts in this *kingdom.* Mr. *Wood*, in publiſhing this paper, would inſinuate to the world, as if the *committee* had a greater concern for his credit, and private emolument, than for the honour of the *privy-council*, and both *houſes of parliament* here, and for the quiet and welfare of this whole kingdom; for it ſeems intended a vindication of Mr. *Wood*, not without ſe-

veral ſevere reflexions on the houſes of *lords* and *commons* of *Ireland*.

The whole is indeed written with the turn and air of a pamphlet; as if it were a diſpute between *William Wood* on the one part, and the *lords juſtices*, *privy-council*, and *both houſes of parliament* on the other: the deſign of it being to clear *William Wood*, and to charge the other ſide with caſting raſh and groundleſs aſperſions upon him.

But if it be really what the title imports, Mr. *Wood* hath treated the *committee* with great rudeneſs, by publiſhing an act of theirs in ſo unbecoming a manner, without their leave, and before it was communicated to the *government* and *privy-council* of *Ireland*; to whom the committee adviſed that it ſhould be tranſmitted. But, with all deference be it ſpoken, I do not conceive that a report of a committee of the council in *England* is *hitherto* a law in either *kingdom*; and until any point is determined to be a law, it remains diſputable by every ſubject.

This (may it pleaſe your *lordſhips* and *worſhips*) may ſeem a ſtrange way of diſcourſing

liſcourſing in an *illiterate ſhopkeeper*. I ıave endeavoured (although without the ıelp of books) to improve that ſmall ɔortion of reaſon God hath been pleaſed :o give me; and when reaſon plainly ıppears before me, I cannot turn away ny head from it. Thus, for inſtance, f any lawyer ſhould tell me that ſuch ı point were law, from which many ɜroſs palpable abſurdities muſt follow; [would not, I could not believe him. If Sir *Edward Coke* ſhould poſitively ıſſert (which he no where does, but he direct contrary), that a *limited prince* ɔould by his *prerogative* oblige his ubjects to take half an ounce of lead, tamped with his image, for twenty ſhilings in gold, I ſhould ſwear he was *deeived*, or a *deceiver*; becauſe a power ike that would leave the whole lives ınd fortunes of the people entirely at he mercy of the monarch; yet this in ffect is what *Wood* hath advanced in ome of his papers; and what ſuſpiciɔus people may poſſibly apprehend from ome paſſages in that which is called the *eport*.

That paper mentions *ſuch perſons to have been examined, who were* deſirous *and* willing *to be heard upon this ſubject.* I am told they were four in all; *Coleby*, *B*——, Mr. *Finley* the banker, and one more, whoſe name I know not. The firſt of theſe was tried for robbing the treaſury in *Ireland*: and though he was acquitted for want of legal proof, yet every perſon in the court believed him to be guilty.

But, ſince I have gone ſo far as to mention particular perſons, it may be ſome ſatisfaction to know who is this *Wood* himſelf, that has the honour to have a whole kingdom at his mercy for almoſt two years together. I find he is in the patent entitled *eſquire*, although he were underſtood to be only a *hardware-man*; and ſo I have been bold to call him in my former letters; however, a *'ſquire* he is, not only by virtue of his patent, but by having been a collector in *Shropſhire*; where pretending to have been robbed, and ſuing the county, he was caſt, and for the infamy of the fact loſt his employment.

I have

I have heard another ſtory of this Eſquire *Wood* from a very honourable lady, that one *Hamilton* told her. *Hamilton* was ſent for ſix years ago, by Sir *Iſaac Newton*, to try the coinage of four men, who then ſolicited a patent for coining half-pence for *Ireland*; their names were *Wood*, *Coſtor*, *Eliſton*, and *Parker*. *Parker* made the faireſt offer, and *Wood* the worſt; for his coin were three half-pence in a pound weight leſs value than the other. By which it is plain, with what intentions he ſolicited his patent; but not ſo plain how he obtained it.

It is alledged in the ſaid paper called the *report*, that upon repeated orders from a ſecretary of ſtate for ſending over ſuch papers and witneſſes, as ſhould be thought proper to ſupport the objections made againſt the patent (by both houſes of parliament); the *lord lieutenant* repreſented *the great difficulty he found himſelf in, to comply with theſe orders: that none of the principal members of both houſes who were in the king's ſervice, or council, would take upon*

them to adviſe, how any material perſon, or papers, might be ſent over on this occaſion, etc. And this is often repeated, and repreſented as *a proceeding that ſeems very extraordinary, and that in a matter which had raiſed ſo great a* clamour *in* Ireland, *no one perſon could be prevailed upon to come over from* Ireland *in ſupport of the united ſenſe of both houſes of parliament in* Ireland; *eſpecially that the chief difficulty ſhould ariſe from a general apprehenſion of a miſcarriage, in an enquiry before his majeſty, or in a proceeding by due courſe of law, in a caſe where both houſes of parliament had declared themſelves ſo fully convinced, and ſatisfied upon evidence, and examinations taken in the moſt ſolemn manner.*

How ſhall I, a poor ignorant ſhopkeeper, utterly unſkilled in law, be able to anſwer ſo weighty an objection? I will try what can be done by plain reaſon, unaſſiſted by art, cunning, or eloquence.

In my humble opinion, the committee of council hath already prejudged the

the whole caſe, by calling the united ſenſe of both *houſes of parliament* in *Ireland* an *univerſal clamour*. Here the addreſſes of the lords and commons of *Ireland*, againſt a ruinous, deſtructive project of an *obſcure, ſingle undertaker*, is called a *clamour*. I deſire to know, how ſuch a ſtyle would be reſented in *England* from a committee of council there to a parliament; and how many *impeachments* would follow upon it? But ſuppoſing the appellation to be proper, I never heard of a wiſe miniſter who deſpiſed the *univerſal clamour* of a people; and if that *clamour* can be quieted by diſappointing the fraudulent practice of a ſingle perſon, the purchaſe is not exorbitant.

But in anſwer to this objection: firſt it is manifeſt, that if this coinage had been in *Ireland*, with ſuch limitations as have been formerly ſpecified in other patents, and granted to perſons of this *kingdom*, or even of *England*, able to give ſufficient ſecurity, few or no inconveniencies could have happened. As to Mr. *Knox's* patent mentioned in the *report*,

port, ſecurity was given into the *Exchequer*, that the *patentee* ſhould upon all demands be obliged to receive his *halfpence* back, and pay gold or ſilver in exchange for them. And Mr. *Moor* (to whom I ſuppoſe that patent was made over) was in 1694 forced to leave off coining before the end of that year by the great crouds of people continually offering to return his coinage upon him. In 1698 he coined again, and was forced to give over for the ſame reaſon. This entirely alters the caſe; for there is no ſuch condition in *Wood's* patent; which condition was worth a hundred times all other limitations whatſoever.

Put the caſe, that the two houſes of *lords* and *commons of England*, and the *privy-council* there, ſhould addreſs his majeſty to recall a *patent*, from whence they apprehended the moſt ruinous conſequences to the whole kingdom; and, to make it ſtronger if poſſible, that the whole nation almoſt to a man ſhould thereupon diſcover the *moſt diſmal apprehenſions* (as Mr. *Wood* ſtyles them); would his majeſty debate half an hour what

what he had to do? would any miniſter dare advise him againſt recalling ſuch a patent? or would the matter be referred to the *privy-council*, or to *Weſtminſter-hall*; the two houſes of *parliament* plaintiffs, and *William Wood* defendant? and is there even the ſmalleſt difference between the two caſes?

Were not the people of *Ireland* born as *free* as thoſe of *England?* how have they forfeited their freedom? is not their *parliament* as fair a *repreſentative* of the *people* as that of *England?* and hath not their privy-council as great, or a greater ſhare in the adminiſtration of public affairs? are not they ſubjects of the ſame king? does not the ſame *ſun* ſhine upon them? and have they not the ſame God for their protector? am I a *freeman* in *England*, and do I become a *ſlave* in ſix hours by croſſing the channel? No wonder then if the boldeſt perſons were cautious to interpoſe in a matter already determined by the whole voice of the nation, or to preſume to repreſent the repreſentatives of the kingdom; and were juſtly apprehenſive of meeting ſuch a treatment

treatment as they would deſerve at the next ſeſſion. It would ſeem very extraordinary, if any inferior court in *England* ſhould take a great matter out of the hands of the high court of parliament during a prorogation, and decide it againſt the opinion of both houſes.

It happens however, that although no perſons were ſo bold as to go over as evidences to prove the truth of the objections made againſt this *patent* by the *high court of parliament* here, yet theſe objections ſtand good, notwithſtanding the anſwers made by Mr. *Wood* and his *council.*

The *report* ſays, that, *upon an aſſay made of the fineneſs, weight, and value of this copper, it exceeded in every article.* This is poſſible enough in the pieces upon which the *aſſay* was made; but *Wood* muſt have failed very much in point of dexterity, if he had not taken care to provide a ſufficient quantity of ſuch *half-pence* as would bear the trial; which he was well able to do, although *they were taken out of ſeveral parcels*; ſince it

it is now plain, that the biaſs of favour hath been wholly on his ſide.

But what need is there of diſputing, when we have a poſitive demonſtration of *Wood's* fraudulent practices in this point? I have ſeen a large quantity of theſe *half-pence* weighed by a very ſkilful perſon, which were of four different kinds, three of them conſiderably under weight. I have now before me an exact computation of the difference of weight between theſe four ſorts; by which it appears, that the fourth ſort, or the lighteſt, differs from the firſt to a degree, that in the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper the *patentee* will be a gainer, only by that difference, of twenty-four thouſand four hundred and ninety-four pounds; and in the whole the publick will be a loſer of eighty-two thouſand one hundred and ſixty-eight pounds ſixteen ſhillings, even ſuppoſing the metal in point of goodneſs to anſwer *Wood's* contract, and the *aſſay* that hath been made, which it infallibly doth not. For this point hath likewiſe been enquired into by

by very experienced men; who, upon ſeveral trials on many of theſe *half-pence*, have found them to be at leaſt one fourth part below the real value, not including the *raps* or *counterfeits* that he, or his *accomplices*, have already made of *his own coin*, and ſcattered about. Now the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper, coined by the weight of the fourth or lighteſt ſort of his *half-pence*, will amount to one hundred twenty-two thouſand four hundred eighty-eight pounds, ſixteen ſhillings; and, if we ſubtract a fourth part of the real value by the *baſe mixture* in the metal, we muſt add to the public loſs one fourth part to be ſubtracted from the intrinſic value of the copper; which in three hundred and ſixty tons amounts to ten thouſand and eighty pounds; and this, added to the former ſum of eighty-two thouſand one hundred ſixty-eight pounds, ſixteen ſhillings, will make in all ninety-two thouſand two hundred forty-eight pounds loſs to the publick; beſides the *raps* or *counterfeits* that he may at any time hereafter think fit to

coin.

coin. Nor do I know whether he reckons the *droſs* excluſive or incluſive with his three hundred and ſixty tons of copper; which however will make a conſiderable difference in the account.

You will here pleaſe to obſerve, that the profit allowed to *Wood* by the patent is twelve pence out of every pound of copper valued at 1 *s.* 6 *d.* whereas 5 *d.* only is allowed for coinage of a pound weight for the *Engliſh half-pence*; and this difference is almoſt 25 *per cent.* which is double to the higheſt exchange of money, even under all the additional preſſures and obſtructions to trade that this unhappy kingdom lies at preſent. This one circumſtance, in the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper, makes a difference of twenty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty pounds between *Engliſh* and *Iriſh half-pence*, even allowing thoſe of *Wood* to be all of the heavieſt ſort.

It is likewiſe to be conſidered, that for every *half-penny* in a pound weight, exceeding the number directed by the patent, *Wood* will be a gainer in the coinage

coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper, ſixteen hundred and eighty pounds profit more than the patent allows him; out of which he may afford to make his *comptrollers eaſy* upon that article.

As to what is alledged, that *theſe half-pence far exceed the like coinage for* Ireland *in the reigns of his majeſty's predeceſſors:* there cannot well be a more exceptionable way of arguing, although the fact were true; which however is altogether miſtaken, not by any fault in the *committee*, but by the fraud and impoſition of *Wood*, who certainly produced the worſt patterns he could find; ſuch as were coined in ſmall numbers by *permiſſions to private men*, as *butchers-half-pence*, *black-dogs*, and others the like; or perhaps the ſmall St. *Patrick's* coin, which paſſeth now for a farthing, or at beſt ſome of the ſmalleſt *raps* of the lateſt kind. For I have now by me *half-pence* coined in the year 1680 by virtue of the patent granted to my lord *Dartmouth*, which was renewed to *Knox*, and they are heavier by a ninth part than thoſe

thoſe of *Wood*, and of much better metal; and the great St. *Patrick's half-pence* are yet larger than either.

But what is all this to the preſent debate? if, under the various exigences of former times by wars, rebellions and inſurrections, the kings of *England* were ſometimes forced to pay their armies here with mixt or baſe money; God forbid that the neceſſities of turbulent times ſhould be a precedent for times of peace, and order, and ſettlement.

In the *patent* abovementioned, granted to lord *Dartmouth* in the reign of king *Charles* the ſecond and renewed to *Knox*, the ſecurities given into the *Exchequer*, obliging the *patentee* to receive his money back upon every demand, were an effectual remedy againſt all inconveniencies: and the *copper was coined in our kingdom*; ſo that we were in no danger to purchaſe it with the loſs of all our ſilver and gold carried over to another, nor to be at the trouble of going to *England* for the redreſſing any abuſe.

That the kings of *England* have exerciſed their prerogative of coining copper for *Ireland* and for *England*, is not the preſent queſtion: but, to ſpeak in the ſtyle of the *report*, it would *ſeem a little extraordinary*, ſuppoſing a king ſhould think fit to exerciſe his *prerogative* by coining copper in *Ireland* to be current in *England*, without referring it to his officers in that kingdom, to be informed whether the grant were reaſonable and whether the people deſired it or no, and without regard to the addreſſes of his parliament againſt it. God forbid that ſo mean a man as I ſhould meddle with the king's *prerogative*: but I have heard very wiſe men ſay, that the king's *prerogative* is bounded and limited by the *good* and *welfare* of his *people*. I deſire to know, whether it be not underſtood and avowed, that the good of *Ireland* was intended by this *patent*? But *Ireland* is not conſulted at all in the matter; and, as ſoon as *Ireland* is informed of it, *they* declare againſt it: the *two houſes of parliament* and the *privy-council*

council addreſs his majeſty upon the miſchiefs apprehended by ſuch a *patent*; the *privy-council* in *England* take the matter out of the *parliament's* cognizance; the good of the kingdom is dropt; and it is now determined, that Mr. *Wood* ſhall have the power of ruining a whole nation for his private advantage.

I never can ſuppoſe that ſuch *patents* as theſe were originally granted with a view of being a *job* for the intereſt of a particular perſon to the damage of the publick. Whatever profit muſt ariſe to the *patentee*, was ſurely meant at beſt but as a ſecondary motive; and ſince ſomebody muſt be a gainer, the choice of the perſon was made either by favour or *ſomething elſe*, or by the pretence of merit and honeſty: this argument returns ſo often and ſtrongly into my head, that I cannot forbear frequently repeating it. Surely his majeſty, when he conſented to the paſſing of this *patent*, *conceived* he was doing an act of grace to his moſt loyal ſubjects of *Ireland*, without any regard to Mr. *Wood*, farther than as an *inſtrument*: but the people of *Ire-*

land think this *patent* (intended, no *doubt*, for their good) to be a moſt intolerable grievance; and therefore Mr. *Wood* can never ſucceed without an open avowal, that his profit is preferred, not only before the *intereſt*, but the very *ſafety* and *being* of a great kingdom; and a kingdom diſtinguiſhed for its loyalty perhaps above all others upon earth; not turned from its duty by the *juriſdiction of the houſe of lords aboliſhed at a ſtroke, by the hardſhips of the act of navigation newly enforced, by all poſſible obſtructions in trade*, and by a hundred other inſtances, enough to fill this paper; nor was there ever among us the leaſt attempt towards an inſurrection in favour of the *pretender*. Therefore, whatever juſtice a *free people* can claim, we have at leaſt an *equal* title to it with our brethren in *England*; and whatever grace a good prince can beſtow on the moſt *loyal ſubjects*, we have reaſon to expect it; neither has this kingdom any way deſerved to be ſacrificed to one *ſingle, rapacious, obſcure, ignominious* projector.

Among other clauſes mentioned in this

this *patent* to ſhew how advantageous it is to *Ireland*, there is one which ſeems to be of a *ſingular nature*: that the *patentee* ſhall be obliged during his term *to pay eight hundred pounds a year to the crown, and two hundred pounds a year to the comptroller.* I have heard indeed, that the king's council do always conſider in the paſſing of a *patent*, whether it will be of advantage to the crown; but I have likewiſe heard, that it is at the ſame time conſidered, whether paſſing of it may be injurious to any other perſons or bodies politic? However, although the *attorney* and *ſolicitor* be ſervants to the king, and therefore bound to conſult his majeſty's intereſt; yet I am under ſome doubt, whether eight hundred pounds a year to the crown would be equivalent to the ruin of a kingdom. It would be far better for us to have paid eight thouſand pounds a year into his majeſty's coffers in the midſt of all our taxes (which in proportion are greater in this kingdom than ever they were in *England*, even during the war) than purchaſe ſuch an addi-

tion to the revenue at the price of our *utter undoing*.

But here it is plain, that fourteen thouſand pounds are to be paid by *Wood* only as a *ſmall circumſtantial* charge for the purchaſe of his *patent:* what were his othe *viſible coſts* I know not, and what were his *latent*, is variouſly conjectured; but he muſt be ſurely a man of ſome wonderful merit. Hath he ſaved any other kingdom at his own expence, to give him a title of re-imburſing himſelf by the *deſtruction* of ours? Hath he diſcovered the *longitude*, or the *univerſal medicine?* No; but he hath found the *philoſopher's ſtone* after a new manner, by *debaſing* of *copper*, and reſolving to force it upon us for *gold*.

When the two houſes repreſented to his majeſty, that this *patent to* Wood *was obtained in a clandeſtine manner*, ſurely the committee could not think the parliament would inſinuate, that it had not paſſed in the common forms, and run through every office where fees and perquiſites were due. They knew very well, that perſons in places were no enemies

enemies to grants; and that the officers of the crown could not be kept in the dark. But the late * *lord lieutenant of Ireland* affirmed it was a *ſecret* to him; and who will doubt of his *veracity*, eſpecially when he ſwore to a perſon of quality, from whom I had it, that *Ireland* ſhould never be troubled with theſe *half-pence?* It was a *ſecret* to the people of *Ireland*, who were to be the *only ſufferers*; and thoſe who beſt know the ſtate of the kingdom, and were moſt able to adviſe in ſuch an affair, were wholly ſtrangers to it.

It is allowed by the *report*, that this *patent* was paſſed without the knowledge of the chief governor, or officers of *Ireland*: and it is there elaborately ſhewn, that *former patents have paſſed in the ſame manner*, and are *good in law*. I ſhall not diſpute the legality of *patents*, but am ready to ſuppoſe it in his majeſty's power to grant a *patent* for ſtamping round bits of copper to every ſubject he hath. Therefore, to lay aſide the point of law, I would only put the

* Duke of *Grafton*.

queſtion, whether in *reaſon* and *juſtice* it would not have been proper, in an affair upon which the *welfare of the kingdom depends*, that the ſaid kingdom ſhould have received timely notice; and the matter not be carried on between the *patentee* and the *officers of the crown*, who were to be the only gainers by it.

The *parliament*, who in matters of this nature are the moſt able and faithful counſellors, did repreſent this grant to be *deſtructive of trade, and dangerous to the properties of the people:* to which the only anſwer is, that *the king hath a prerogative to make ſuch a grant.*

It is aſſerted, that in the patent to *Knox* his *half-pence are made and declared the current coin of the kingdom*; whereas, in this to *Wood* there is only a *power given to iſſue them to ſuch as will receive them.* The authors of the *report*, I think, do not affirm, that the king can, by *law*, declare *any thing* to be current money by his letters patent. I dare ſay they will not affirm it; and if *Knox's* patent contained in it powers contrary to law, why is it mentioned as a pre-

cedent

cedent in his majeſty's *juſt and merciful reign?* But although that clauſe be not in *Wood's* patent, yet poſſibly there are others, the legality whereofmay be equally doubted; and particularly that whereby *a power is given to* William Wood *to break into houſes in ſearch of any coin made in imitation of his.* This may perhaps be affirmed to be illegal and dangerous to the liberty of the ſubject; yet this is a *precedent* taken from *Knox's* patent, where the ſame power is granted, and is a ſtrong inſtance what uſes may be ſometimes made of *precedents.*

But although, before the paſſing of this patent, it was not thought neceſſary to conſult any perſons of this kingdom, or make the leaſt enquiry, whether copper money were wanting among us; yet now at length, when the matter is over, when the patent hath long paſſed, when *Wood* hath already coined ſeventeen thouſand pounds, and hath his tools and implements prepared to coin *ſix times* as much more, the committee hath been pleaſed to make this affair the ſubject of enquiry; *Wood* is permitted

to

to produce his evidences, which conſiſt, as I have already obſerved, of four in number, whereof *Colcby*, *B*—, and Mr. *Finley* the banker are three. And theſe were to prove that copper money was extremely wanted in *Ireland*. The firſt had been out of the kingdom almoſt twenty years, from the time that he was tried for *robbing the treaſury*; and therefore his *knowledge* and *credibility* are equal. Mr. *Finley*, one of the other witneſſes, honeſtly confeſſed, that he was ignorant whether *Ireland* wanted copper money or no; but his whole intention was to buy a certain quantity from *Wood* at a *large diſcount*, and ſell them as well as he could; by which he hoped to get two or three thouſand pounds for himſelf.

But ſuppoſe there were not one ſingle half-penny of copper coin in this whole kingdom (which Mr. *Wood* ſeems to intend, unleſs we come to his terms, as appears by employing his emiſſaries to buy up our old ones at a penny in the ſhilling more than they paſs for), it could not be any *real evil* to us, although it might

might be ſome *inconvenience*. We have many ſorts of ſmall ſilver coins, to which they are ſtrangers in *England*; ſuch as the *French three-pences*, *four-pence half-pennies*, and *eight-pence farthings*, the *Scotch five pences* and *ten-pences*, beſides their *twenty-pences* and *three and four-pences*, by which we we are able to make change to a half-penny of almoſt any piece of gold or ſilver; and if we are driven to the expedient of a *ſealed card*, with the little gold and ſilver ſtill remaining, it will, I ſuppoſe, be ſomewhat better than to have nothing left but *Wood's* adulterated copper, which he is neither *obliged* by his *patent*, nor HITHERTO *able* by his *eſtate*, to make good.

The *report* farther tells us, it *muſt be admitted, that letters patents, under the great ſeal of* Great Britain, *for coining copper-money for* Ireland *are legal and obligatory, a juſt and reaſonable exerciſe of his majeſty's royal prerogative, and in no manner derogatory, or invaſive of any liberty or privilege of his ſubjects of* Ireland. Firſt, we deſire to know, why

why his majeſty's *prerogative* might not have been as well aſſerted by paſſing this patent in *Ireland*, and ſubjecting the ſeveral conditions of the contract to the inſpection of thoſe who are only concerned, as was formerly done in the only precedents for patents granted for coining in this kingdom, ſince the mixt money in queen *Elizabeth's* time, during the difficulties of a rebellion: whereas now, upon the greateſt impoſition that can poſſibly be practiſed, we muſt go to *England* with our complaints; where it hath been for ſome time the faſhion to think, and to affirm, that *we cannot be too hardly uſed.* Again, the *report* ſays, that *ſuch patents are obligatory.* After long thinking, I am not able to find out, what can poſſibly be meant here by this word *obligatory.* The patent of *Wood* neither *obligeth* him to utter his coin, nor us to take it; or if it did the latter, it would be ſo far void, becauſe no patent can *oblige* the ſubject againſt law; unleſs an illegal patent paſſed in *one* kingdom can bind *another*, and not itſelf.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, it is added, that *ſuch patents are in no manner derogatory, or invaſive of any liberty or privilege of the king's ſubjects of* Ireland. If this propoſition be true, as it is here laid down, without any limitation either expreſſed or implied, it muſt follow, that a king of *England* may at any time coin copper money for *Ireland*, and oblige his ſubjects here to take a piece of copper under the value of half a farthing for half a crown, as was practiſed by the late king *James*; and even without that arbitrary prince's excuſe from the neceſſity and exigences of his affairs. If this be in no manner *derogatory, nor invaſive of any liberties or privileges of the ſubjects of* Ireland, it ought to have been expreſſed what our *liberties* and *privileges* are, and whether we have any at all; for in ſpecifying the word *Ireland*, inſtead of ſaying *his majeſty's ſubjects*, it would ſeem to inſinuate, that we are not upon the ſame foot with our fellow-ſubjects in *England*; which, however the practice may have been, I hope will never be directly aſſerted; for I do not

not underſtand that *Poining's* act deprived us of our *liberty*, but only *changed the manner* of paſſing laws here (which however was *a power* moſt indirectly obtained), by leaving the negative to the two houſes of parliament. But waving all controverſies relating to the legiſlature, no perſon, I believe, was ever yet ſo bold as to affirm, that the people of *Ireland* have not the ſame title to the benefits of the *common law* with the reſt of his majeſty's ſubjects; and therefore, whatever liberties or privileges the people of *England* enjoy by *common law*, we of *Ireland* have the ſame; ſo that, in my humble opinion, the word *Ireland* ſtanding in that propoſition was in the mildeſt interpretation a *lapſe of the pen.*

The *report* farther aſſerts, that *the precedents are many, wherein caſes of great importance to* Ireland, *and which immediately affected the intereſts of that kingdom, ſuch as warrants, orders and directions by the authority of the* king *and his* predeceſſors, *have been iſſued under the royal ſign manual without any previous reference or advice of his majeſty's*

jeſty's officers of Ireland, *which have always had their due force, and have been punctually complied with, and obeyed.* It may be ſo, and I am heartily ſorry for it; becauſe it may prove an eternal ſource of diſcontent. However, among all theſe *precedents*, there is not one of a patent for coining money for *Ireland*.

There is nothing hath perplexed me more than this doctrine of *precedents*. If a job is to be done, and upon ſearching records you find it hath been done before, there will not want a lawyer to juſtify the legality of it by producing his *precedents*, without ever conſidering the motives and circumſtances that firſt introduced them; the neceſſity, or turbulence, or iniquity of times; the corruptions of miniſters, or the arbitrary diſpoſition of the prince then reigning. And I have been told by perſons eminent in the law, that the worſt actions which human nature is capable of may be juſtified by the ſame doctrine. How the firſt *precedents* began of determining caſes of the higheſt importance to *Ireland*, and immediately affecting its intereſts, with-

out any previous reference or advice to the king's officers here, may ſoon be accounted for. Before this kingdom was entirely reduced by the ſubmiſſion of *Tyrone* in the laſt year of queen *Elizabeth's* reign, there was a period of four hundred years, which was a various ſcene of war and peace between the *Engliſh pale* and the *Iriſh* natives; and the government of that part of this iſland, which lay in the *Engliſh* hands, was in many things under the immediate adminiſtration of the king: ſilver and copper were often coined here among us; and once at leaſt upon great neceſſity a mixt or baſe metal was ſent from *England*. The reign of king *James* I. was employed in ſettling the kingdom after *Tyrone's* rebellion; and this nation flouriſhed extremely till the time of the maſſacre, 1641. In that difficult juncture of affairs the nobility and gentry coined their own plate here in *Dublin*.

By all that I can diſcover, the copper coin of *Ireland*, for three hundred years paſt, conſiſted of ſmall pence and halfpence; which particular men had licence

to coin, and were current only within certain towns and diſtricts, according to the perſonal credit of the owner, who uttered them, and was bound to receive them again, whereof I have ſeen many ſorts; neither have I heard of any patent granted for coining copper for *Ireland*, till the reign of king *Charles* the ſecond, which was in the year 1680, to *George Leg* lord *Dartmouth*; and renewed by king *James* the ſecond, in the firſt year of his reign (1685) to *John Knox*. Both patents were paſſed in *Ireland*; and in both the patentees were bound to receive their coin again from any that would offer them twenty ſhillings of it, for which they were obliged to pay gold or ſilver.

The patents both of lord *Dartmouth* and *Knox* were referred to the attorney-general here, and a report made accordingly; and both, as I have already ſaid, were paſſed in this kingdom. *Knox* had only a patent for the remainder of the term granted to lord *Dartmouth*; the patent expired in 1701, and upon a petition by *Roger Moor* to have it renewed,

newed, the matter was referred hither; and upon the report of the attorney and ſolicitor, that it was not for his majeſty's ſervice, or the intereſt of the nation, to have it renewed, it was rejected by king *William*. It ſhould therefore ſeem very *extraordinary*, that a patent for coining copper half-pence, intended and profeſſed for the good of the kingdom, ſhould be paſſed without once conſulting that kingdom for the good of which it is declared to be intended; and this upon the application of a *poor*, *private*, *obſcure mechanick*; and a patent of ſuch a nature, that as ſoon as ever the kingdom is informed of its being paſſed, they cry out unanimouſly againſt it, as *ruinous* and *deſtructive*. The repreſentatives of the nation in parliament, and the privy-council, addreſs the king to have it recalled; yet the *patentee*, ſuch a one as I have deſcribed, ſhall prevail to have this patent approved; and his private intereſt ſhall weigh down the application of a whole kingdom. St. *Paul* ſays, *All things are* lawful, *but all things are not* expedient. We are anſwer'd, that this

this patent is *lawful*: but is it *expedient*? We read that the high prieſt ſaid, *It was expedient that one man ſhould die for the people*; and this was a moſt wicked propoſition: but that a *whole nation ſhould die for one man*, was never heard of before.

But, becauſe much weight is laid on the *precedents* of other patents for *coining copper* for *Ireland*, I will ſet this matter in as clear a light as I can. Whoever hath read the *report*, will be apt to think, that a dozen precedents at leaſt could be produced of copper coined for *Ireland* by virtue of patents paſſed in *England*, and that the coinage was there too; whereas I am confident, there cannot be one *precedent* ſhewn of a patent paſſed in *England* for coining copper for *Ireland* for above an hundred years paſt; and if there were any before, it muſt be in times of confuſion. The only *patents* I could ever hear of, are thoſe already mentioned to lord *Dartmouth* and *Knox*, the former in 1680, and the latter in 1685. Now let us compare theſe patents with that granted to *Wood*. Firſt, the

patent to *Knox*, which was under the ſame conditions as that granted to lord *Dartmouth*, was paſſed in *Ireland*; the government and the *attorney* and *ſolicitor general* making report that it would be uſeful to this kingdom.

The patent was paſſed with the advice of the *king's council* here; the *patentee* was obliged to receive his coin from thoſe who thought themſelves ſurcharged, and to give *gold* and *ſilver* for it. Laſtly, the *patentee* was to pay only 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *per annum* to the crown. Then, as to the execution of that patent; firſt, I find the *half-pence* were *milled*, which, as it is of great uſe to prevent counterfeits (and therefore induſtriouſly avoided by *Wood*), ſo it was an addition to the charge of coinage. And as for the weight and goodneſs of the metal, I have ſeveral *half-pence* now by me, many of which weigh a ninth part more than thoſe coined by *Wood*, and bear the fire and hammer a great deal better, and, which is no trifle, the impreſſion is fairer and deeper. I grant indeed that many of the latter coinage yield in weight

to ſome of *Wood's* by a *fraud* natural to ſuch *patentees*; but not ſo immediately after the grant, and before the coin grew current; for this circumſtance Mr. *Wood* muſt ſerve for a *precedent* in *future times*.

Let us now examine this new patent granted to *William Wood*. It paſſed upon very ſmall ſuggeſtions of his own and of a few confederates: it paſſed in *England* without the leaſt reference hither; it paſſed unknown to the very *lord lieutenant*, then in *England*. *Wood* is impowered to coin one hundred and eight thouſand pounds, *and all the* officers *in the kingdom* (civil and military) *are commanded* in the report to *countenance and aſſiſt him*. *Knox* had only power to utter what he would take, and was obliged *to receive his coin back again at our demand*, and to *enter into ſecurity for ſo doing*. *Wood's* half-pence are not *milled*, and therefore more eaſily counterfeited by *himſelf* as well as by others. *Wood* pays a thouſand pounds *per annum* for fourteen years; *Knox* paid only ſixteen

pounds thirteen ſhillings and four-pence *per annum* for twenty-one years.

It was the *report*, that ſet me the example of making a compariſon between thoſe two patents, wherein the *committee* was groſly miſled by the falſe repreſentation of *William Wood*; as it was by another aſſertion, that ſeven hundred tons of copper were coined during the twenty-one years of lord *Dartmouth's* and *Knox's* patents. Such a quantity of copper, at the rate of two ſhillings and eight pence *per* pound, would amount to about an hundred and ninety thouſand pounds; which was very near as much as the current caſh of the kingdom in thoſe days; yet during that period, *Ireland* was never known to have too much copper coin; and for ſeveral years there was no coining at all: beſides, I am aſſured, that upon enquiring into the cuſtom-houſe-books all the copper imported into this kingdom from 1683 to 1692 which includes eight years of the twenty-one (beſides one year allowed for the troubles) did not exceed forty-ſeven tons.

And we cannot ſuppoſe even that ſmall quantity to have been wholly applied to coinage: ſo that I believe there was never any compariſon more unluckily made, or ſo deſtructive of the deſign for which it was produced.

The *pſalmiſt* reckons it an effect of God's anger, when *he ſelleth his people for nought, and taketh no money for them.* That we have greatly offended God by the wickedneſs of our lives, is not to be diſputed: but our king we have not offended in word or deed; and although he be God's vicegerent upon earth, he will not puniſh us for any offences, except thoſe we ſhall commit againſt his legal authority, his ſacred perſon (which God preſerve), or the laws of the land.

The *report* is very profuſe in arguments, that *Ireland* is in great want of copper money: who were the witneſſes to prove it, hath been ſhewn already: but, in the name of God, who are to be *judges?* does not the nation beſt know its own wants? Both houſes of *parliament*

ment, the *privy-council*, and the whole body of the people, declare the contrary. Or, let the wants be what they will, we deſire they may not be ſupplied by Mr. *Wood*: we know our own wants but too well; they are *many*, and *grievous* to be borne, but quite of another kind. Let *England* be ſatisfied; as things go, they will in a ſhort time have all our gold and ſilver, and may keep their adulterate copper at home, for we are determined not to purchaſe it with our manufactures, which *Wood* hath graciouſly offered to accept. Our *wants* are not ſo bad by a hundredth part as the method he hath taken to ſupply them. He hath already tried his faculty in *New-England*; and I hope he will meet at leaſt with an *equal reception* here; what *that* was, I leave to public intelligence. I am ſuppoſing a wild caſe; that if there ſhould be any perſon already receiving a monſtrous penſion out of this kingdom, who was inſtrumental in procuring the *patent*, they have either not well conſulted their own intereſts,

tereſts, or *Wood* muſt put more droſs into his copper, and ſtill diminiſh its weight.

Upon *Wood's* complaint, that the officers of the king's revenue here had already given orders to all the inferior officers not to receive any of his coin; the *report* ſays that *this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary proceeding*, and contrary to the powers given in the patent. The *committee* ſay, they *cannot adviſe his majeſty to give directions to the officers of the revenue here, not to receive or utter any of the ſaid coin, as hath been deſired in the addreſſes of both houſes*; but, on the contrary, they *think it both juſt and reaſonable, that the king ſhould immediately give orders to the commiſſioners of the revenue, etc. to revoke all orders, etc. that may have been given by them to hinder or obſtruct the receiving the ſaid coin.* And accordingly, we are told, ſuch orders are arrived. Now this was a caſt of *Wood's* politicks; for his information was wholly falſe and groundleſs, which he knew very well; and that the commiſſioners of the revenue

nue here were all, except one, ſent us from *England*, and love their employments too well to have taken ſuch a ſtep: but *Wood* was wiſe enough to conſider, that ſuch orders of *revocation* would be an open declaration of the crown in his favour, would put the government here under a difficulty, would make a noiſe, and poſſibly create ſome terror in the poor people of *Ireland*. And one great point he hath gained, that although any orders of revocation will be needleſs, yet a new order is to be ſent (and perhaps is already here) to the commiſſioners of the revenue, and all the king's officers in *Ireland*, that *Wood's halfpence be ſuffered and permitted, without any let, ſuit, trouble, moleſtation, or denial of any of the king's officers or miniſters whatſoever, to paſs, and be received as* current money *by ſuch as ſhall be* willing *to receive them*. In this order there is no exception; and therefore, as far as I can judge, it includes all *officers*, both *civil* and *military*, from the *lord high chancellor* to a *juſtice of peace*, and from the *general* to an *enſign*; ſo

that *Wood's* project is not likely to fail for want of *managers* enough. For my own part, as things ſtand, I have but little regret to find myſelf out of the *number*; and therefore I ſhall continue in all humility to exhort and warn my fellow-ſubjects never to receive or utter this coin, which will reduce the kingdom to beggary by much *quicker and larger ſteps* than have hitherto been taken.

But it is needleſs to argue any longer. The matter is come to an iſſue. His majeſty *purſuant to the law* hath left the *field* open between *Wood* and the kingdom of *Ireland*. *Wood* hath liberty to *offer* his coin, and we have *law*, *reaſon*, *liberty*, and *neceſſity* to *refuſe* it. A knaviſh jockey may ride an old foundered jade about the market, but none are obliged to buy it. I hope the words *voluntary*, and *willing to receive it*, will be underſtood and applied in their true natural meaning, as *commonly underſtood by proteſtants*. For if a *fierce captain* comes to my ſhop to buy ſix yards of ſcarlet cloth, followed by a porter laden with

with a ſack of *Wood's* coin upon his ſhoulders; if we are agreed about the price, and my ſcarlet lies ready cut upon the compter; if he then gives me the *word of command* to receive my money in *Wood's coin*, and calls me a *diſaffected*, *jacobite dog*, for refuſing it (although I am as loyal a ſubject as himſelf, and *without hire)*, and thereupon ſeizes my cloth, leaving me the price in this odious copper, and bids me take my remedy: in this caſe I ſhall hardly be brought to think, that I am *left to my own will*. I ſhall therefore on ſuch occaſions firſt order the porter aforeſaid to go off with his pack; and then ſee the money in *ſilver* and *gold* in my poſſeſſion, before I cut or meaſure my cloth. But if a *common ſoldier* drinks his pot firſt, and then offers payment in *Wood's half-pence*, the *landlady* may be under ſome difficulty; for if ſhe complains to his *captain* or *enſign*, they are likewiſe *officers* included in this general order for encouraging theſe *half-pence* to paſs as *current money*. If ſhe goes to a *juſtice of peace*, he is alſo an *officer*, to whom this

this general order is directed. I do therefore adviſe her to follow my practice, which I have already begun, and be paid for her goods before ſhe parts with them. However, I ſhould have been content, for ſome reaſons, that the *military gentlemen* had been excepted by name; becauſe I have heard it ſaid that their diſcipline is beſt confined within their own diſtrict.

His majeſty, in the concluſion of his anſwer to the addreſs of the houſe of lords againſt *Wood's* coin, is pleaſed to ſay, that *he will do every thing in his power to the ſatisfaction of his people.* It ſhould ſeem, therefore, that the recalling the patent is not to be underſtood as a thing *in his power.* But however, ſince the law doth not oblige us to receive this coin, and conſequently the patent leaves it to our voluntary choice, there is nothing remaining to preſerve us from ruin, but that the whole kingdom ſhould continue in a firm, determinate reſolution never to receive or utter this *fatal coin.* After which let the *officers,* to whom theſe orders are directed

rected (I would willingly except the *military)* come with their *exhortations*, their *arguments*, and their *eloquence*, to perſuade us to find our intereſt in our undoing. Let *Wood* and his *accomplices* travel about the country with *cart-loads* of their *ware*, and ſee who will take it off their hands; there will be no fear of his being robbed, for a *highwayman* would ſcorn to touch it.

I am only in pain how the *commiſſioners* of the *revenue* will proceed in this juncture; becauſe, I am told, they are obliged by an act of parliament to take nothing but *gold* and *ſilver* in payment for his majeſty's *cuſtoms:* and I think they cannot juſtly offer this coinage of Mr. *Wood* to others, unleſs they will be content to receive it themſelves.

The ſum of the whole is this: the *committee adviſes the king to ſend immediate orders to all his officers here, that* Wood's *coin be ſuffered and permitted without any let, ſuit, trouble, etc. to paſs, and to be received as* current money *by ſuch as ſhall be* willing *to receive the ſame.* It is probable, that the firſt *willing*

ing receivers may be thoſe who muſt *receive it whether they will or no*, at leaſt under the penalty of loſing an office. But the landed *undepending men*, the *merchants*, the *ſhopkeepers*, and bulk of the people, I hope, and am almoſt confident, will never receive it. What muſt the conſequence be? the owners will ſell it for as much as they can get. *Wood's half-pence* will come to be offered for ſix a penny (yet then he will be a ſufficient gainer); and the *neceſſary receivers* will be loſers of two thirds in their *ſalaries* or *pay*.

This puts me in mind of a paſſage I was told many years ago in *England*. At a quarter-ſeſſion in *Leiceſter* the juſtices had wiſely decreed to take off a *half-penny* in a quart from the price of ale. One of them, who came in after the thing was determined, being informed of what had paſſed, ſaid thus: *Gentlemen, you have made an order, that* ale *ſhould be ſold in our county for three half-pence a quart*; *I deſire you will now make another, to appoint who muſt drink it*; *for by G—— I will not.*

I muſt

I muſt beg leave to caution your *lordſhips* and *worſhips* in one particular. *Wood* hath graciouſly promiſed to *load* us at preſent only with forty thouſand pounds of his coin, *'till the exigencies of the kingdom require the reſt.* I intreat you will never ſuffer Mr. *Wood* to be a judge of your *exigencies.* While there is one piece of *ſilver* or *gold* left in the kingdom, he will call it an *exigency.* He will double his preſent *quantum* by ſtealth as ſoon as he can; he will pour his own *raps* and *counterfeits* upon us; *France* and *Holland* will do the ſame; nor will our own coiners at home be behind them: to confirm which, I have now in my pocket a *rap*, or counterfeit half-penny, in imitation of his; but ſo ill performed, that in my conſcience I believe it is not of his coining.

I muſt now deſire your *lordſhips* and *worſhips*, that you will give great allowance for this long undigeſted paper. I find myſelf to have gone into ſeveral repetitions, which were the effects of haſte, while new thoughts fell in to add ſomething to what I had ſaid before.

I think

I think I may affirm, that I have fully anſwered every paragraph in the *report*; which although it be not unartfully drawn, and is perfectly in the ſpirit of a pleader who can find the moſt plauſible topicks in behalf of his client, yet there was no great ſkill required to detect the many miſtakes contained in it; which however are by no means to be charged upon the right honourable *committee*, but upon the moſt falſe, impudent, and fraudulent repreſentations of *Wood* and his accomplices. I deſire one particular may dwell upon your minds, although I have mentioned it more than once; that, after all the weight laid upon *precedents*, there is not one produced in the whole *report* of a patent for coining copper in *England* to paſs in *Ireland*; and only two patents referred to (for indeed there were no more), which were both paſſed in *Ireland*, by references to the king's council here, both leſs advantageous to the coiner than this of *Wood*; and in both, *ſecurities given to receive the coin at every call, and give gold and ſilver*

in lieu of it. This demonſtrates the moſt flagrant falſhood and impudence of *Wood*, by which he would endeavour to make the right honourable *committee* his inſtruments (for his own illegal and exorbitant gain) to ruin a kingdom, which has deſerved *quite different treatment*.

I am very ſenſible, that ſuch a work as I have undertaken might have worthily employed a much better pen: but when a houſe is attempted to be robbed, it often happens that the weakeſt in the family runs firſt to ſtop the door. All the aſſiſtance I had, were ſome informations from an eminent *perſon*; whereof I am afraid I have ſpoiled a few, by endeavouring to make them of a piece with my own productions, and the reſt I was not able to manage: I was in the caſe of *David*, who *could not move in the armour of* Saul; and therefore I rather choſe to attack this *uncircumciſed Philiſtine (Wood* I mean) *with a ſling and a ſtone*. And I may ſay for *Wood's* honour, as well as my own, that he reſembles *Goliah* in many circumſtances very applicable to the

preſent purpoſe: for *Goliah* had *a helmet of* braſs *upon his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail, and the weight of the coat was five thouſand ſhekels of* braſs, *and he had greaves of* braſs *upon his legs, and a target of* braſs *between his ſhoulders.* In ſhort, he was like Mr. *Wood*, all over *braſs*, and *he defied the armies of the living* God. *Goliah's* conditions of combat were likewiſe the ſame with thoſe of *Wood: if he prevail againſt us, then ſhall we be his ſervants.* But if it happens that I *prevail* over him, I renounce the other part of the condition; he ſhall never be a *ſervant* of mine; for I do not think him fit to be truſted in any *honeſt* man's ſhop.

I will conclude with my humble deſire and requeſt, which I made in my ſecond letter, that your *lordſhips* and *worſhips* would pleaſe to order a *declaration* to be drawn up, expreſſing in the ſtrongeſt terms your reſolutions never to receive or utter any of *Wood's* half-pence, or farthings; and forbidding your tenants to receive them: that the ſaid *de-*

claration may be ſigned by as many p
ſons as poſſible*, who have eſtates in t
kingdom, and be ſent down to your
veral tenants aforeſaid.

And if the dread of *Wood's* half-pe
ſhould continue until next *quarter-ſeſſi*
which I hope it will not, the gentlen
of every county will then have a fair
portunity of declaring againſt them w
unanimity and zeal.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

(may it pleaſe your lordſhips and worſh

your moſt dutiful an

obedient ſerva

Aug. 25, 1724. M

* A declaration purſuant to this requeſt was ſigned ſoon after by the moſt conſidera- ble perſons of the king which was univerſally ſp and of great uſe.

LETT

LETTER IV.

To the whole PEOPLE of IRELAND.

My dear countrymen,

HAVING already written three LETTERS upon ſo diſagreeable a ſubject as Mr. *Wood* and his *half-pence*, I conceived my taſk was at an end; but I find that cordials muſt be frequently applied to weak conſtitutions, *political* as well as *natural*. A people long uſed to hardſhips loſe by degrees the very notions of *liberty*; they look upon themſelves as creatures at mercy, and that all impoſitions laid on them by a ſtronger hand are, in the phraſe of the report, *legal* and *obligatory*. Hence proceed that *poverty* and *lowneſs* of *ſpirit*, to which a *kingdom* may be *ſubject*, as well as a *particular perſon*. And when *Eſau* came fainting from the field at the point to die, it is no wonder that he ſold his *birth-right for a meſs of pottage*.

I thought I had ſufficiently ſhewn t all who could want inſtruction, by wh methods they might ſafely procee whenever this coin ſhould be offered them: and I believe, there hath not be for many ages an example of any kingdo ſo firmly united in a point of great impo tance, as this of ours is at preſent again that deteſtable fraud. But however, ſo happens, that ſome weak people b gin to be alarmed a-new by rumours i duſtriouſly ſpread. *Wood* preſcribes the news-mongers in *London* wh they are to write. In one of their p pers, publiſhed here by ſome obſcu printer (and certainly with a bad deſig we are told, that the *papiſts in* Irela *have entered into an aſſociation againſt coin*; although it be notoriouſly knov that they never once offered to ſtir in t matter; ſo that the two houſes of parli ment, the privy-council, the great numb of corporations, the lord-mayor and alde men of *Dublin*, the grand-juries, and pri cipal gentlemen of ſeveral counties, are ſti matized in a lump under the name *papiſts*.

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This impoſtor and his crew do likewiſe give out, that, by refuſing to receive his droſs for ſterling, we *diſpute the king's prerogative, are grown ripe for rebellion, and ready to ſhake off the dependency of* Ireland *upon the crown of* England. To countenance which reports, he hath publiſhed a paragraph in another news-paper, to let us know, that *the lord lieutenant is ordered to come over immediately to ſettle his half-pence.*

I intreat you, my dear countrymen, not to be under the leaſt concern upon theſe, and the like rumours, which are no more than the laſt howls of a dog diſſected alive, as I hope he hath ſufficiently been. Theſe calumnies are the only reſerve that is left him. For ſurely our continued and (almoſt) unexampled loyalty will never be called in queſtion for not ſuffering ourſelves to be robbed of all that we have by one obſcure *ironmonger.*

As to diſputing the king's *prerogative*, give me leave to explain to thoſe who are ignorant, what the meaning of that word *prerogative* is.

The kings of theſe realms enjoy ſeveral powers, wherein the laws have not interpoſed; ſo they can make war and peace without the conſent of parliament, and this is a very great *prerogative:* but if the parliament doth not approve of the war, the king muſt bear the charge of it out of his own purſe; and this is as great a check on the crown. So the king hath a *prerogative* to coin money without conſent of parliament: but he cannot compel the ſubject to take that money, except it be ſterling, gold or ſilver; becauſe herein he is limited by law. Some princes have indeed extended their *prerogative* farther than the law allowed them: wherein however the lawyers of ſucceeding ages, as fond as they are of *precedents*, have never dared to juſtify them. But, to ſay the truth, it is only of late times that *prerogative* hath been fixed and aſcertained. For whoever reads the hiſtory of *England* will find, that ſome former kings, and thoſe none of the worſt, have upon ſeveral occaſions ventured to controul the laws, with very little ceremo-

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ny or ſcruple, even later than the days of queen *Elizabeth*. In her reign, that pernicious counſel of ſending *baſe money* hither very narrowly failed of loſing the kingdom; being complained of by the lord deputy, the council, and the whole body of the *Engliſh* here: ſo that, ſoon after her death, it was recalled by her ſucceſſor, and lawful money paid in exchange.

Having thus given you ſome notion of what is meant by the king's *prerogative*, as far as a *tradeſman* can be thought capable of explaining it, I will only add the opinion of the great lord *Bacon*, that, *as* GOD *governs the world by the ſettled laws of nature, which he hath made, and never tranſcends thoſe laws but upon high, important occaſions; ſo, among earthly princes, thoſe are the wiſeſt and the beſt, who govern by the known laws of the country, and ſeldomeſt make uſe of their* prerogative.

Now here you may ſee, that the vile accuſation of *Wood* and his *accomplices*, charging us with *diſputing the king's prerogative* by refuſing his braſs, can have

no place; becauſe compelling the ſubject to take any coin, which is not ſterling, is no part of the king's *prerogative*; and I am very confident, if it were ſo, we ſhould be the laſt of his people to diſpute it, as well from that inviolable loyalty we have always paid to his majeſty, as from the treatment we might in ſuch a caſe juſtly expect *from ſome*, who ſeem to think we have neither *common ſenſe nor common ſenſes*. But, God be thanked, the beſt of them are only our *fellow ſubjects*, and not our *maſters*. One great merit I am ſure we have, which thoſe of *Engliſh* birth can have no pretence to, that our anceſtors reduced this kingdom to the obedience of ENGLAND; for which we have been rewarded with a *worſe climate*, the privilege of being governed by laws to which we do not conſent, a ruined trade, a houſe of *peers* without *juriſdiction*, almoſt an incapacity for all employments, and the dread of *Wood's* half-pence.

But we are ſo far from diſputing the king's *prerogative* in coining, that we own

own he hath power to give a patent to any man for ſetting his royal image and ſuperſcription upon whatever materials he pleaſes; and liberty to the patentee to offer them in any country from *England* to *Japan*, only attended with one ſmall limitation, that *nobody alive is obliged to take them.*

Upon theſe conſiderations, I was ever againſt all recourſe to *England* for a remedy againſt the preſent impending evil; eſpecially when I obſerved, that the addreſſes of both houſes after long expectance produced nothing but a REPORT altogether in favour of *Wood*; upon which I made ſome obſervations in a former letter, and might at leaſt have made as many more; for it is a paper of as ſingular a nature as I ever beheld.

But I miſtake; for before this *report* was made, his majeſty's *moſt gracious anſwer* to the houſe of lords was ſent over, and printed; wherein are theſe words, *granting the patent for coining half-pence and farthings*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, *etc.* That king *Charles* II. and king

and king *James* II. (AND THEY ONI did grant patents for this purpoſe, is i diſputable, and I have ſhewn it at larg Their patents were paſſed under t great ſeal of *Ireland*, by references *Ireland*, the copper to be coined in *I land*; the patentee was bound on d mand to receive his coin back in *I land*, and pay ſilver and gold in retur *Wood's* patent was made under the gre ſeal of *England*, the braſs coined *England*, not the leaſt reference ma to *Ireland*; the ſum immenſe, and t patentee under no obligation to recei it again, and give good money for i This I only mention, becauſe in n private thoughts I have ſometimes ma a query, whether the *penner* of tho words in his majeſty's *moſt gracious a ſwer*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE C HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, had mature conſidered the ſeveral circumſtance which in my poor opinion ſeem to mak a difference *.

Let me now ſay ſomething concernin the other great cauſe of ſome people

* See the note at the end of this letter.

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fear, as *Wood* has taught the *London* news-writer to expreſs it, that *his excellency the lord lieutenant is coming over to ſettle* Wood's *half-pence.*

We know very well, that the lords lieutenants for ſeveral years paſt have not thought this kingdom *worthy the honour of their reſidence*, longer than was abſolutely neceſſary for the king's buſineſs; which conſequently *wanted no ſpeed in the diſpatch.* And therefore it naturally fell into moſt men's thoughts that a new governor, coming at an *unuſual* time, muſt portend ſome *unuſual* buſineſs to be done; eſpecially if the common report be true, that the parliament, prorogued to I know not when, is by a new ſummons revoking that prorogation to aſſemble ſoon after his arrival; for which extraordinary proceeding the lawyers on t'other ſide the water have by great good fortune found two *precedents.*

All this being granted, it can never enter into my head, that ſo *little a creature as* Wood could find credit enough with the king and his miniſters to have the

the lord lieutenant of *Ireland* ſent hither in a hurry upon his errand.

For, let us take the whole matter nakedly, as it lies before us, without the refinements of ſome people, with which we have nothing to do. Here is a patent granted under the great ſeal of *England*, upon falſe ſuggeſtions, to one *William Wood*, for coining copper *half-pence* for *Ireland:* the parliament here, upon apprehenſions of the worſt conſequences from the ſaid patent, addreſs the king to have it recalled: this is refuſed, and a committee of the privy-council *report* to his majeſty that *Wood* has performed the conditions of his patent. He then is left to do the beſt he can with his *half-pence*, no man being obliged to receive them; the people here being likewiſe left to themſelves unite as one man, reſolving they will have nothing to do with his ware. By this plain account of the fact it is manifeſt, that the king and his miniſtry are wholly out of the caſe, and the matter is left to be diſputed between him and us. Will any man therefore attempt to perſuade

ſuade me, that a lord lieutenant is to be diſpatched over in great haſte before the ordinary time, and a parliament ſummoned by anticipating a prorogation, merely to put an hundred thouſand pounds into the pocket of a *ſharper*, by the ruin of a moſt loyal kingdom?

But ſuppoſing all this to be true: by what arguments could a lord lieutenant prevail on the ſame parliament, which addreſſed with ſo much zeal and earneſtneſs againſt this evil, to paſs it into a law? I am ſure their opinion of *Wood* and his project are not mended ſince their laſt prorogation: and, ſuppoſing thoſe *methods* ſhould be uſed which *detractors* tell us have been ſometimes put in practice for *gaining votes*, it is well known, that in this kingdom there are few employments to be given; and, if there were more, it is *as well known* to whoſe ſhare they muſt fall.

But, becauſe great numbers of you are altogether ignorant of the affairs of your country, I will tell you ſome reaſons why there are ſo few employments to

to be diſpoſed of in this kingdom. All conſiderable offices for life here are poſſeſſed by thoſe, to whom the reverſions were granted; and theſe have been generally followers of the chief governors, or perſons who had intereſt in the court of *England*: ſo the lord *Berkely* of *Stratton* holds that great office of *maſter of the rolls*; the lord *Palmerſtown* is *firſt remembrancer*, worth near 2000 *l. per annum.* One *Dodington*, ſecretary to the earl of *Pembroke*, begged the reverſion of *clerk of the pells* worth 2500 *l.* a year, which he now enjoys by the death of the lord *Newtown.* Mr. *Southwell* is ſecretary of ſtate, and the earl of *Burlington* lord high treaſurer of *Ireland* by inheritance. Theſe are only a few among many others, which I have been told of, but cannot remember. Nay, the reverſion of ſeveral employments during pleaſure is granted the ſame way. This among many others is a circumſtance, whereby the kingdom of *Ireland* is diſtinguiſhed from all other nations upon earth, and makes it ſo difficult an affair to get into a civil employ,

that Mr. *Addiſon* was forced to purchaſe an old obſcure place, called *keeper of the records in* Bermingham's *tower*, of ten pounds a year, and to get a ſalary of 400*l.* annexed to it, though all the records there are not worth half-a-crown either for curioſity or uſe. And we lately ſaw * a *favourite ſecretary* deſcend to be *maſter of the revels*, which by his *credit and extortion* he hath made *pretty conſiderable*. I ſay nothing of the under-treaſurerſhip worth about 9000*l.* a year, nor of the commiſſioners of the revenue, four of whom generally live in *England*; for I think none of theſe are granted in reverſion. But the jeſt is, that I have known upon occaſion ſome of theſe abſent officers as *keen* againſt the intereſt of *Irelnad*, as if they had never been indebted to her for a *ſingle groat*.

I confeſs I have been ſometimes tempted to wiſh, that this project of *Wood* might ſucceed; becauſe I reflected with ſome pleaſure, what a *jolly crew* it would bring over among us of *lords* and *'ſquires*,

* Mr. *Hopkins*, ſecretary to the duke of *Grafton*.

and *penſioners* of *both ſexes*, and officers *civil* and *military*, where we ſhould live together as merry and ſociable as beggars; only with this one abatement, that we ſhould neither have *meat* to feed, nor *manufactures* to cloath us, unleſs we could be content to *prance* about in *coats of mail*, or eat *braſs* as oſtriches do *iron*.

I return from this digreſſion to that which gave me the occaſion of making it: and I believe you are now convinced, that if the parliament of *Ireland* were as *temptable* as any *other* aſſembly within a mile of *Chriſtendom* (which God forbid); yet the *managers* muſt of neceſſity fail, for want of *tools* to work with. But I will yet go one ſtep further, by ſuppoſing that a hundred new employments were erected, on purpoſe to gratify *compliers*; yet ſtill an inſuperable difficulty would remain. For it happens, I know not how, that *money* is neither *whig* nor *tory*, neither of *town* nor *country party*; and it is not improbable, that a gentleman would rather chuſe to live upon his *own eſtate*, which

brings him *gold* and *ſilver*, than with the addition of an *employment*, when his *rents* and *ſalary* muſt both be paid in *Wood's* braſs at above eighty *per cent.* diſcount.

For theſe, and many other reaſons, I am confident you need not be under the leaſt apprehenſions from the ſudden expectation of the *lord lieutenant* *, while we continue in our preſent hearty diſpoſition, to alter which no ſuitable temptation can poſſibly be offered. And if, as I have often aſſerted from the beſt authority, the *law* hath not left a *power* in the *crown* to force any money, except ſterling, upon the ſubject; much leſs can the crown *devolve* ſuch a *power* upon *another*.

This I ſpeak with the utmoſt reſpect to the *perſon* and *dignity* of his excellency the lord *Carteret*, whoſe character was lately given me by a gentleman that hath known him from his firſt appearance in the world: that gentleman deſcribes him as a young man of great accompliſhments, excellent learning, re-

* Lord *Carteret*, now Earl *Granville*.

gular in his life, and of much ſpirit and vivacity. He hath ſince, as I have heard, been employed abroad; was principal ſecretary of ſtate; and is now about the thirty-ſeventh year of his age appointed lord lieutenant of *Ireland*. From ſuch a governor this kingdom may reaſonably hope for as much proſperity as, *under ſo many diſcouragements*, it can be capable of receiving.

It is true indeed, that within the memory of man there have been governors of ſo much dexterity, as to carry points of terrible conſequence to this kingdom by their power with *thoſe who are in office*; and by their arts in managing or deluding others with *oaths*, *affability*, and even with *dinners*. If *Wood's* braſs had in thoſe times been upon the *anvil*, it is obvious enough to conceive what methods would have been taken. *Depending* perſons would have been told in plain terms, that it was a *ſervice expected from them, under the pain of the public buſineſs being put into more complying hands*. Others would be allured by *promiſes*. To the *country gentlemen*,

gentlemen, beſides *good words*, *burgundy*, and *cloſeting*, it might perhaps have been hinted, how *kindly it would be taken to comply with a royal patent*, *although it were not compulſory*: that if any inconveniencies enſued, it might be made up with other *graces or favours hereafter*: that *gentlemen ought to conſider*, *whether it were prudent or ſafe to diſguſt* England: they would be deſired to *think of ſome good bills for encouraging of trade*, *and ſetting the poor to work*; *ſome further acts againſt popery*, *and for uniting proteſtants*. There would be ſolemn engagements, that we ſhould *never be troubled with above forty thouſand pounds in his coin*, *and all of the beſt and weightieſt ſort*, *for which we ſhould only give our manufactures in exchange*, *and keep our gold and ſilver at home*. Perhaps *a ſeaſonable report of ſome invaſion would have been ſpread in the moſt proper juncture*; which is a great ſmoother of rubs in public proceedings: and we ſhould have been told, that *this was no time to create differences*, *when the kingdom was in danger*.

Theſe, I ſay, and the like methods, would in corrupt times have been taken, to let in this deluge of *braſs* among us. And, I am confident, even then would not have ſucceeded; much leſs under the adminiſtration of ſo excellent a perſon as the lord CARTERET; and in a country where the people of all ranks, parties, and denominations, are convinced to a man that the utter undoing of themſelves and their poſterity for ever will be dated from the admiſſion of that execrable coin: that, if it once enters, it can be no more confined to a ſmall or moderate quantity, than a *plague* can be confined to a few families; and that no *equivalent* can be given by any earthly power, any more than a dead carcaſe can be recovered to life by a cordial.

There is one comfortable circumſtance in this univerſal oppoſition to Mr. *Wood*, that the people ſent over hither from *England*, to *fill up our vacancies, eccleſiaſtical, civil, and military*, are all on our ſide. *Money*, the great *divider* of the world, hath, by a ſtrange revolution,

lution, been the great *uniter* of a moſt *divided* people. Who would leave a hundred pounds a year in *England (a country of freedom)* to be paid a thouſand in *Ireland* out of *Wood's* exchequer? The *gentleman* they have lately made *primate* *, would never quit his ſeat in an *Engliſh* houſe of lords, and his preferments at *Oxford* and *Briſtol*, worth twelve hundred pounds a year, for four times the denomination here, but not half the value; therefore I expect to hear he will be as good an *Iriſhman* at leaſt upon *this one article* as any of his brethren, or even of *us*, who have had the *misfortune* to be born in this iſland. For thoſe who, in the common phraſe, do not *come hither to learn the language*, would never change a better country for a worſe, to receive *braſs* inſtead of *gold*.

Another ſlander ſpread by *Wood* and his emiſſaries is, that by oppoſing him we diſcover an inclination to *ſhake off our dependence upon the crown of* England. Pray obſerve how important a per-

* Doctor *Hugh Boulter*.

ſon is this ſame *William Wood*; and how the public weal of two kingdoms is involved in his private intereſt. Firſt, all thoſe who refuſe to take his coin are *papiſts*; for he tells us, that *none but* papiſts *are aſſociated againſt him.* Secondly, they *diſpute the king's prerogative.* Thirdly, they *are ripe for rebellion.* And, fourthly, they are going to *ſhake off their dependence upon the crown of* England; that is to ſay, *they are going to chuſe another king*; for there can be no other meaning in this expreſſion, however ſome may pretend to ſtrain it.

And this gives me an opportunity of explaining to thoſe who are ignorant another point, which hath often *ſwelled in my breaſt.* Thoſe who come over hither to us from *England*, and ſome *weak* people among ourſelves, whenever in diſcourſe we make mention of *liberty* and *property*, ſhake their heads, and tell us, that * *Ireland* is a *depending kingdom*; as if they would ſeem by this phraſe to intend, that the people of *Ireland* are in ſome ſtate of ſlavery or dependence

* See the note at the end of this letter.

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different from thoſe of *England*: whereas a *depending kingdom* is a *modern term of art*, unknown as I have heard to all ancient *civilians*, and *writers upon government*; and *Ireland* is, on the contrary, called in ſome ſtatutes an *imperial crown*, as held only from God; which is as high a ſtyle as any kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore, by this expreſſion, a *depending kingdom*, there is no more to be underſtood than that, by a ſtatute made here in the thirty-third year of *Henry* VIII, *the king, and his ſucceſſors, are to be kings imperial of this realm, as united and knit to the imperial crown of* England. I have looked over all the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* ſtatutes, without finding any law that makes *Ireland* depend upon *England*, any more than *England* doth upon *Ireland*. We have indeed obliged ourſelves to have *the ſame king with them*; and conſequently they are obliged to have the *ſame king with us* For the law was made by *our own parliament*; and our anceſtors then were not ſuch *fools (whatever they were in the preceding reign)*

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to bring themſelves under I know not what *dependence*, which is now talked of, without any ground of *law*, *reaſon*, or *common ſenſe*.

Let whoever think otherwiſe, I, *M. B. drapier*, deſire to be excepted: for I declare, next under GOD, I *depend* only on the king my ſovereign, and on the laws of my own country. And I am ſo far from *depending* upon the people of *England*, that, if they ſhould ever *rebel* againſt my ſovereign (which GOD forbid), I would be ready at the firſt command from his majeſty to take arms againſt them, as ſome of *my* countrymen did againſt *their's* at *Preſton*. And if ſuch a rebellion ſhould prove ſo ſucceſsful as to fix the *pretender* on the throne of *England*, I would venture to tranſgreſs that *ſtatute* ſo far, as to loſe every drop of my blood to hinder him from being king of *Ireland**.

It is true indeed, that within the memory of man the parliaments of *England* have *ſometimes* aſſumed the power of binding this kingdom by laws enact-

* This paragraph gave great offence. See letter V.

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ed there; wherein they were at firſt openly oppoſed (as far as *truth*, *reaſon*, and *juſtice* are capable of *oppoſing*) by the famous Mr. *Molineux*, an *Engliſh* gentleman born here, as well as by ſeveral of the greateſt patriots and *beſt whigs* in *England*; but the *love* and *torrent* of power prevailed. Indeed the arguments on both ſides were invincible. For in *reaſon*, all *government* without the conſent of the *governed* is the very *definition of ſlavery*: but in fact, *eleven men well armed will certainly ſubdue one ſingle man in his ſhirt*. But I have done: for thoſe who have uſed *power* to cramp *liberty*, have gone ſo far as to reſent even the *liberty* of *complaining*; although a man upon the rack was never known to be refuſed the liberty of *roaring* as loud as he thought fit.

And as we are apt to *ſink* too much under *unreaſonable* fears, ſo we are too ſoon inclined to be *raiſed* by groundleſs hopes, according to the nature of all *conſumptive* bodies like ours. Thus it hath been given about for ſeveral days paſt, that *ſomebody* in *England* empower-

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ed a ſecond *ſomebody* to write to a third *ſomebody* here, to aſſure us that we *ſhould no more be troubled with theſe half-pence.* And this is reported to have been done by the * *ſame perſon*, who is ſaid to have ſworn ſome months ago, that he would *ram them down their throats* (though I doubt they would *ſtick in our ſtomachs)*: but which ever of theſe reports be true or falſe, it is no concern of ours. For *in this point* we have nothing to do with *Engliſh miniſters*: and I ſhould be ſorry to leave it in their power to redreſs this grievance, or to enforce it; for the *report of the committee* hath given me a *ſurfeit*. The remedy is wholly in your own hands; and therefore I have digreſſed a little in order to refreſh and continue that *ſpirit* ſo ſeaſonably raiſed amongſt you; and to let you ſee, that by the laws of GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your COUNTRY, you ARE, and OUGHT to be as FREE a people as your brethren in *England*.

If the pamphlets publiſhed at *London* by *Wood* and his *journeymen* in defence

* Mr. *Walpole*, afterwards E. of *Orford*.

of

of his cauſe were reprinted here, and our countrymen could be perſuaded to read them, they would convince you of his wicked deſign, more than all I ſhall ever be able to ſay. In ſhort, I make him a perfect *ſaint* in compariſon of what he appears to be from the writings of thoſe whom he *hires* to juſtify his *project*. But he is ſo far *maſter of the field (let others gueſs the reaſon)*, that no *London* printer dare publiſh any paper written in favour of *Ireland*: and here nobody hath yet been ſo *bold* as to publiſh any thing in *favour* of him.

There was, a few days ago, a pamphlet ſent me of near fifty pages, written in favour of Mr. *Wood* and his coinage, printed in *London:* it is not worth anſwering, becauſe probably it will never be publiſhed here. But it gave me occaſion to reflect upon an unhappineſs we lie under, that the people of *England* are utterly ignorant of our caſe; which however is no wonder, ſince it is a point they do not in the leaſt concern themſelves about, farther than perhaps as a ſubject of diſcourſe in a coffee-houſe

houſe when they have nothing elſe to talk of. For I have reaſon to believe, that no *miniſter* ever gave himſelf the trouble of reading any papers written in our defence, becauſe I ſuppoſe their *opinions are already determined*, and are formed wholly upon the reports of *Wood* and his accomplices; elſe it would be impoſſible that any man could have the impudence to write ſuch a pamphlet as I have mentioned.

Our *neighbours*, *whoſe underſtandings are juſt upon a level with ours* (which perhaps are none of the *brighteſt*), have a ſtrong contempt for moſt nations, but eſpecially for *Ireland*. They look upon us as a ſort of *ſavage Iriſh*, whom our anceſtors conquered ſeveral hundred years ago. And if I ſhould deſcribe the *Britons* to you as they were in *Cæſar's* time, when they *painted their bodies*, *or cloathed themſelves with the ſkins of beaſts*, I ſhould act full as reaſonably as they do. However, they are ſo far to be excuſed in relation to the preſent ſubject, that hearing only *one ſide of the cauſe*, and having neither opportunity nor curioſity

rioſity to examine the *other*, they *believe a lie* merely for their eaſe; and conclude, becauſe Mr. *Wood* pretends to have *power*, he hath alſo *reaſon* on his ſide.

Therefore, to let you ſee how this caſe is repreſented in *England* by *Wood* and his adherents, I have thought it proper to extract out of that pamphlet a few of thoſe notorious falſhoods in point of *fact* and *reaſoning* contained therein, the knowledge whereof will confirm my countrymen in their *own* right ſentiments, when they will ſee, by comparing both, how much their *enemies* are in the *wrong*.

Firſt, the writer poſitively aſſerts, *that* Wood's *half-pence were current among us for ſeveral months, with the univerſal approbation of all people, without one ſingle gainſayer*; *and we all, to a man, thought ourſelves happy in having them.*

Secondly, he affirms, *that we were drawn into diſlike of them only by ſome cunning, evil-deſigning men among us, who oppoſed this patent of* Wood *to get another for themſelves.*

Thirdly, that *thoſe who moſt declared*

at

at firſt againſt Wood's *patent, were the very men who intend to get another for their own advantage.*

Fourthly, that *our parliament and privy-council, the lord mayor and aldermen of* Dublin, *the grand juries and merchants, and in ſhort the whole kingdom, nay, the very dogs* (as he expreſſeth it) *were fond of thoſe half-pence, till they were inflamed by thoſe few deſigning perſons aforeſaid.*

Fifthly, he ſays directly, that *all thoſe who oppoſed the half-pence, were papiſts, and enemies to king* George.

Thus far I am confident, the moſt ignorant among you can ſafely ſwear from your own knowledge, that the author is a moſt notorious liar in every article; the direct contrary being ſo manifeſt to the whole kingdom, that, if occaſion required, we might get it confirmed under *five hundred thouſand hands.*

Sixthly, he would perſuade us, that *if we ſell five ſhillings worth of our goods or manufactures for two ſhillings and four-pence worth of copper, although the*

per were melted down, and that we ld get five ſhillings in gold and ſilver the ſaid goods; yet to take the ſaid o ſhillings and four-pence in copper uld be greatly for our advantage.

And, laſtly, he makes us a very fair fer, as empowered by *Wood*, that *if will take off two hundred thouſand unds in his half-pence for our goods, d likewiſe pay him three* per cent. *in- eſt for thirty years for an hundred and enty thouſand pounds* (at which he com- ites the coinage above the intrinſic lue of the copper) *for the loan of his in, he will after that time give us good oney for what half-pence will be then ft.*

Let me place this offer in as clear a ght as I can to ſhew the inſupport- le villainy and impudence of that corrigible wretch. Firſt (ſays he) *I ill ſend two hundred thouſand pounds my coin into your country: the copper compute to be, in real value, eighty thou- nd pounds, and I charge you with an undred and twenty thouſand pounds for e coinage; ſo that you ſee, I lend you*

an hundred and twenty thouſand pounds for thirty years; for which you ſhall pay me three per cent. *that is to ſay, three thouſand ſix hundred pounds* per annum, *which in thirty years will amount to an hundred and eight thouſand pounds. And when theſe thirty years are expired, return me my copper, and I will give you good money for it.*

This is the propoſal made to us by *Wood* in that pamphlet written by one of his *commiſſioners:* and the author is ſuppoſed to be the ſame infamous *Coleby*, one of his *under-ſwearers* at the *committee of council*, who was tried for *robbing the treaſury here*, where he was an under-clerk.

By this propoſal he will firſt receive two hundred thouſand pounds, in goods or ſterling, for as much copper as he values at eighty thouſand pounds, but in reality not worth thirty thouſand pounds. Secondly, he will receive for intereſt an hundred and eight thouſand pounds: and when our children come thirty years hence to return his *half-pence* upon his executors (for before that time he will be probably gone to *his own place*),

thoſe executors will very reaſonably reject them as raps and counterfeits, which they will be, and millions of them of his own coinage.

Methinks I am fond of ſuch a *dealer* as this, who mends every day upon our hands like a *Dutch* reckoning, wherein if you diſpute the unreaſonableneſs and exorbitance of the bill, the landlord ſhall bring it up every time with new additions.

Although theſe and the like pamphlets publiſhed by *Wood* in *London* are altogether unknown here, where no body could read them without as much *indignation*, as *contempt* would allow; yet I thought it proper to give you a ſpecimen how the man employs his time, where he rides alone without any creature to contradict him; while our OUR FEW FRIENDS there wonder at our ſilence: and the *Engliſh* in general, if they think of this matter at all, impute our refuſal to *wilfulneſs* or *diſſaffection*, juſt as *Wood* and his *hirelings* are pleaſed to repreſent.

But although our arguments are not

ſuffered to be printed in *England*, the conſequence will be of little mom Let *Wood* endeavour to perſuade people there, that we ought to *rec* his coin; and let me convince our p ple here, that they ought to *reject* it ur pain of our utter undoing; and then him do his *beſt* and his *worſt*.

Before I conclude, I muſt beg le in all humility to tell Mr. *Wood* t he is guilty of great *indiſcretion*, by ca ing ſo honourable a name as that of *Walpole* to be mentioned ſo often in ſuch a manner upon this occaſi A ſhort paper printed at *Briſtol*, and printed here, reports Mr. *Wood* to that he *wonders at the impudence* a *inſolence of the* Iriſh *in refuſing his c and what he will do when Mr.* Walp *comes to town.* Where, by the way, is miſtaken; for it is the *true Eng people* of *Ireland* who refuſe it, altho we take it for granted, that the *I* will do ſo too whenever they are aſk In another printed paper of his conti ing, it is roundly expreſſed, that *Walpole* will *cram his braſs down*

throa

throats. Sometimes it is given out, that we muſt *either take thoſe half-pence, or eat our brogues:* and in another news-letter, but of yeſterday, we read, that the ſame great man *hath ſworn to make us ſwallow his coin in fire-balls.*

This brings to my mind the known ſtory of a *Scotchman*, who receiving the ſentence of death with all the circumſtances of *hanging*, *beheading*, *quartering*, *emboweling*, and the like, cried out, *What need all this* COOKERY? and I think we have reaſon to aſk the ſame queſtion; for, if we believe *Wood*, here is a *dinner* getting ready for us; and you ſee the *bill of fare*; and I am ſorry the *drink* was forgot, which might eaſily be ſupplied with *melted lead* and *flaming pitch.*

What vile words are theſe to put into the mouth of a great counſellor, in high truſt with his majeſty, and looked upon as a prime miniſter? If Mr. *Wood* hath no better a manner of repreſenting his patrons, when I come to be a *great man* he ſhall never be ſuffered to attend at my *levee.* This is not the ſtyle

of a great miniſter; it ſavours too much of the *kettle* and the *furnace*, and came entirely out of *Wood's forge*.

As for the threat of making us *eat our brogues*, we need not be in pain; for if his coin ſhould paſs, that *unpolite covering for the feet* would no longer be a *national reproach*; becauſe then we ſhould have neither *ſhoe* nor *brogue* left in the kingdom. But here the falſhood of Mr. *Wood* is fairly detected; for I am confident Mr. *Walpole* never heard of a *brogue* in his whole life.

As to *ſwallowing theſe half-pence in fire-balls*, it is a ſtory equally improbable. For, to execute this operation, the whole ſtock of Mr. *Wood's* coin and metal muſt be melted down, and moulded into hollow *balls* with *wild-fire*, no bigger than a reaſonable throat may be able to ſwallow. Now, the metal he hath prepared, and already coined, will amount to at leaſt fifty millions of *half-pence* to be *ſwallowed* by a million and an half of people; ſo that, allowing two half-pence to each *ball*, there will be about ſeventeen balls of wild-fire a-piece

to

to be ſwallowed by every perſon in the kingdom; and, to adminiſter this doſe, there cannot be conveniently fewer than fifty thouſand *operators*, allowing one operator to every thirty; which, conſidering the *ſqueamiſhneſs* of ſome ſtomachs, and the *peeviſhneſs* of *young children*, is but reaſonable. Now, under correction of better judgments, I think the trouble and charge of ſuch an experiment would exceed the profit; and therefore I take this report to be ſpurious, or, at leaſt, only a new ſcheme of Mr. *Wood* himſelf; which, to make it paſs the better in *Ireland*, he would father upon a *miniſter of ſtate*.

But I will now demonſtrate, beyond all contradiction, that Mr. *Walpole* is againſt this project of Mr. *Wood*, and is an entire friend to *Ireland*, only by this one invincible argument, that he has the univerſal opinion of being a wiſe man, an able miniſter, and in all his proceedings purſuing the *true intereſt* of the *king his maſter*: and that as his *integrity* is above all *corruption*, ſo is his *fortune* above all *temptation*. I reckon,

therefore, we are perfectly ſafe from that *corner*, and ſhall never be under the neceſſity of contending with ſo *formidable a power*, but be left to poſſeſs our *brogues* and *potatoes* in peace, as * *remote from thunder as we are from Jupiter.*

I am, my dear countrymen,

your loving fellow-ſubject,

fellow-ſufferer, and

humble ſervant,

Octob. 13, 1724. M. B.

* Procul à Jove, procul à fulmine.

Upon the arrival of lord *Carteret*, ſoon after the publication of this letter, the paſſages from which this note is referred to were ſelected as ſufficient ground for proſecution; and a proclamation was publiſhed by his excellency and council offering a reward of three hundred pounds for diſcovering the author. *Harding* the printer was impriſoned, and a bill of indictment was ordered to be prepared againſt him: which gave occaſion to the following paper.

SEA-

SEASONABLE
ADVICE
TO
THE GRAND-JURY,
CONCERNING

The Bill preparing againſt the PRINTER *of the preceding* LETTER.

SInce a *bill* is preparing for the *grand-jury* to find againſt the printer of the *Drapier's laſt letter*, there are ſeveral things maturely to be conſidered by thoſe gentlemen before they determine upon it.

Firſt, they are to conſider, that the author of the ſaid pamphlet did write three other diſcourſes on the ſame ſubject, which, inſtead of being cenſured, were univerſally approved by the whole nation, and were allowed to have raiſed and continued that ſpirit among us, which hath hitherto kept out *Wood's* coin; for all men will grant, that if thoſe pam-

pamphlets had not been written, his coin muſt have over-run the nation ſome months ago.

Secondly, it is to be conſidered, that this pamphlet, againſt which a *proclamation* hath been iſſued, is written by the *ſame author*: that nobody ever doubted the innocence and goodneſs of his deſign; that he appears, through the whole tenor of it, to be a *loyal ſubject* to his majeſty, and devoted to the houſe of *Hanover*, and declares himſelf in a manner peculiarly zealous againſt the *pretender*. And if ſuch a writer, in four ſeveral treatiſes on ſo nice a ſubject, where a royal patent is concerned, and where it was neceſſary to ſpeak of *England* and of *liberty*, ſhould in one or two places happen to let fall an inadvertent expreſſion, it would be hard to condemn him after all the good he hath done, eſpecially when we conſider, that he could have no poſſible deſign in view either of honour or profit, but purely the GOOD of his COUNTRY.

Thirdly, it ought to be well conſidered, whether any one expreſſion in the

the ſaid pamphlet be really liable to a juſt exception, much leſs to be found *wicked, malicious, ſeditious, reflecting upon his majeſty and his miniſtry, etc.*

The two points in that pamphlet, which it is ſaid the proſecutors intend chiefly to fix on, are, firſt, where the author mentions the penner of the king's anſwer. Firſt, it is well known his majeſty is not maſter of the *Engliſh* tongue; and therefore it is neceſſary that ſome other perſon ſhould be employed to pen what he hath to ſay, or write in that language. *Secondly*, his majeſty's anſwer is not in the firſt perſon, but in the third. It is not ſaid, WE ARE CONCERNED, OR OUR ROYAL PREDECESSORS; but HIS MAJESTY *is concerned*, and *his* ROYAL PREDECESSORS. By which it is plain, theſe are properly not the words of his majeſty; but ſuppoſed to be taken from him, and tranſmitted hither by one of his miniſters. *Thirdly*, it will be eaſily ſeen, that the author of the pamphlet delivers his ſentiments upon this particular with the utmoſt caution and reſpect, as any impartial reader will obſerve.

The

The ſecond paragraph, which it ſaid will be taken notice of as a moti to find the bill, is what the author ſa of *Ireland's* being a dependent kin dom: he explains all the dependen he knows of, which is a law made *Ireland*, whereby it is enacted, th *whoever is king of* England *ſhall be ki of* Ireland. Before this explanation condemned, and the bill found upon it would be proper that ſome lawy ſhould fully inform the jury what oth law there is, either ſtatute or comm for this *dependency*; and if there be law, there is no tranſgreſſion.

The *fourth* thing very maturely be conſidered by the jury, is, what i fluence their finding the bill may ha upon the kingdom: the people in g neral find no fault in the *Drapier's* l book, any more than in the three fo mer; and therefore, when they hear is condemned by a grand-jury of *Du lin* they will conclude it is done in vour of *Wood's* coin; they will thi we of this town have changed our min and intend to take thoſe half-pence, a

therefo

therefore that it will be in vain for them to ſtand out: ſo that the queſtion comes to this, Which will be of the worſt conſequence? to let paſs one or two expreſſions, at the worſt only unwary, in a book written for the public ſervice; or to leave a free open paſſage for *Wood's* braſs to over-run us, by which we ſhall be undone for ever.

The *fifth thing* to be conſidered is, that the members of the grand-jury, being merchants and principal ſhop-keepers, can have no ſuitable temptation offered them, as a recompence for the miſchief they will do, and ſuffer by letting in this coin; nor can be at any loſs or danger by rejecting the bill. They do not expect any employments in the ſtate, to make up in their own private advantages by the deſtruction of their country; whereas thoſe, who go about to *adviſe*, *entice*, or *threaten* them to find that bill, have great employments which they have a mind to keep, or to get *greater*; as it was likewiſe the caſe of all thoſe who ſigned the proclamation to have the author

proſecuted. And therefore it is know that his grace the lord archbiſhop *Dublin*, ſo renowned for his piety, a wiſdom, and love of his country, a ſolutely refuſed to condemn the book the author.

Laſtly, it ought to be conſidered, wh conſequence the finding the bill m have upon a poor man, perfectly inn cent; I mean the printer. A law may pick out expreſſions, and ma them liable to exception, where no ther man is able to find any. But h can it be ſuppoſed that an ignorant pri ter can be ſuch a *critick?* He knew author's deſign was honeſt, and appr ed by the whole kingdom: he advi with friends, who told him there no harm in the book, and he could none himſelf: it was ſent him in an known hand; but the ſame in wh he received the three former. He a his wife have offered to take their oa that they knew not the author. A therefore, to find a bill that may br puniſhment upon the innocent, will pear *very hard*, to ſay no worſe. For

will be impoſſible to find the author, unleſs he will pleaſe to diſcover himſelf; although I wonder he ever concealed his name: but I ſuppoſe, what he did at firſt out of modeſty, he continues to do out of prudence. God protect us and him.

I will conclude all with a fable aſcribed to *Demoſthenes*: he had ſerved the people of *Athens* with great fidelity in the ſtation of an *orator*; when upon a certain occaſion apprehending to be delivered over to his enemies, he told the *Athenians*, his countrymen, the following ſtory: Once upon a time the *wolves* deſired a league with the *ſheep* upon this condition; that the cauſe of ſtrife might be taken away, which was the *ſhepherds* and *maſtiffs*: this being granted, the *wolves* without all fear made havock of the *ſheep*.

November 11, 1724.

Copies of this paper were diſtributed to every perſon of the grand-jury the evening before the bill was to be exhibited, who, probably for the reaſons contained in it, refuſed to find the bill, upon which the lord chief juſtice *Whitſhed*, who

who had preſided at a former proſecution of the de printer *, diſcharged them in a rage. The following tract was ſoon after publiſhed to ſhew the illegality of proceeding, and the next grand-jury that was impan ed made the ſubſequent preſentment againſt all the a tors of *Wood's* project. See *Letter to lord Moleſwo* page 165 *of this vol.*

* See the note prefixed to the Propoſal for the ſole uſe Iriſh manufactures.

An extract from a Book, intituled, *exact Collection of the Debate of* Houſe of Commons, *held at* We minſter, Oct. 21, 1680, *pag.* 1

RESOLUTIONS of the Houſe of Co mons in *England Nov.* 13, 1680.

SEVERAL perſons being exami about the diſmiſſing a grand-jury *Middleſex*, the houſe came to the f lowing *reſolutions:*

Reſolved, that the diſcharging o grand-jury by any judge, before the of the term, aſſizes, or ſeſſions, wh matters are under their conſiderati

and not preſented, is arbitrary, illegal, deſtructive to public juſtice, a manifeſt violation of his oath, and is a means to ſubvert the fundamental laws of this kingdom.

Reſolved, that a committee be appointed to examine the proceedings of the judges in *Weſtminſter-hall*; and report the ſame, with their opinion herein, to this houſe.

The PRESENTMENT of the *Grand-Jury* of the County of the City of *Dublin.*

WHEREAS ſeveral great quantities of baſe metal coined, commonly called *Wood's* half-pence, have been brought into the port of *Dublin*, and lodg'd in ſeveral houſes of this city, with an intention to make them paſs clandeſtinely among his majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom; notwithſtanding the addreſſes of both houſes of parliament, and the privy-council, and the declarations of moſt of the corporations of this city againſt the ſaid coin: And whereas his majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to leave his loyal ſubjects of this kingdom at liberty to take or refuſe the ſaid half-pence;

We the *grand-jury* of the county of the city of *Dublin*, this *Michaelmas-term* 1724, having entirely at heart his majeſty's intereſt, and the welfare of our country, and being thoroughly ſenſible of the great diſcouragements which trade hath ſuffered by the apprehenſions of the

the ſaid coin, whereof we have already felt the diſmal effects; and that the currency thereof will inevitably tend to the great diminution of his majeſty's revenue, and the ruin of us and our poſterity, do *preſent* all ſuch perſons as have attempted, or ſhall endeavour by fraud, or otherwiſe, to impoſe the ſaid halfpence upon us, contrary to his majeſty's moſt gracious intentions, as enemies to his majeſty's government, and to the ſafety, peace, and welfare of all his majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom; whoſe affections have been ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed by their zeal to his illuſtrious family before his happy acceſſion to the throne, and by their continued loyalty ever ſince.

As we do, with all juſt gratitude, acknowledge the ſervices of all ſuch *patriots* as have been eminently *zealous* for the intereſt of his majeſty and this country, in detecting the fraudulent impoſition of the ſaid *Wood*, and preventing the paſſing his baſe coin; ſo we do, at the ſame time, declare our abhorrence and deteſtation of all reflexions on his

majeſty and his government; and that we are ready with our lives and fortunes to defend his moſt ſacred majeſty againſt the *pretender*, and all his majeſty's open and ſecret enemies both at home and abroad.

Given under our hands at the grand-jury chamber, this 28th of *November*, 1724.

George Forbes,
William Empſon,
Nathaniel Pearſon,
Joſeph Nuttall,
William Aſton,
Stearn Tighe,
Richard Walker,
Edmond French,
John Vereilles,
Philip Pearſon,
Thomas Robins,
Richard Dawſon,
David Tew,
Thomas How,
John Jones,
James Brown,
Charles Lyndon,
Jerom Bredin,
John Sican,
Anthony Brunton,
Thomas Gaven,
Daniel Elwood,
John Brunet.

A LET-

A

LETTER

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

The Lord Viſcount *Moleſworth.*

Written in the year 1724.

They compaſſed me about alſo with words of deceit, and fought againſt me without a cauſe.

For my love they are my adverſaries; but I give myſelf unto prayer.

And they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love. *Pſal.* cix. 3, 4, 5.

Seek not to be judge, being not able to take away iniquity; leſt at any time thou fear the perſon of the mighty, and lay a ſtumbling-block in the way of thy uprightneſs.

Offend not againſt the multitude of a city, and then thou ſhalt not caſt thyſelf down among the people.

Bind not one ſin upon another, for in one thou ſhalt not be unpuniſhed. *Eccluſ.* vii. 6, 7, 8.

Non jam prima peto Mneſtheus, neque vincere certo:
Quanquam O! Sed ſuperent quibus hoc, Neptune, dediſti.

DIRECTIONS
TO THE
PRINTER.

Mr. Harding,

WHEN I ſent you my former papers, I cannot ſay I intended you either good *or* hurt; *and yet you have happened through my means to receive* both. *I pray God deliver you from any more of the* latter, *and increaſe the* former. *Your trade, particularly in this kingdom, is of all others the moſt unfortunately circumſtantiated; for as you deal in the moſt worthleſs kind of traſh, the penny productions of pennyleſs ſcriblers; ſo you often venture your liberty, and ſometimes your lives, for the purchaſe of half a crown; and, by your own ignorance, are puniſhed for other mens actions.*

I am afraid, you in particular think you have reaſon to complain of me, for your own and your wife's confinement in priſon, to your great expence, as well as

hardſhip; and for a proſecution ſtill impending. But I will tell you, Mr. Harding, *how that matter ſtands. Since the preſs hath lain under ſo ſtrict an inſpection, thoſe who have a mind to inform the world are become ſo cautious as to keep themſelves, if poſſible, out of the way of danger. My cuſtom therefore is to dictate to a prentice, who can write in a feigned hand; and what is written we ſend to your houſe by a black-guard boy. But, at the ſame time, I do aſſure you upon my reputation, that I never did ſend you any thing for which I thought you could poſſibly be called to an account. And you will be my witneſs, that I always deſired you, by a letter, to take ſome good advice before you ventured to print; becauſe I knew the* dexterity *of* dealers in the law *at finding out ſomething to faſten on, where no evil is meant. I am told indeed, that you did accordingly conſult ſeveral very able perſons, and even* ſome *who afterwards* appeared againſt you: *to which I can only anſwer; that you muſt either change your* adviſers, *or determine*

termine to print nothing that comes from a drapier.

I deſire you will ſend the incloſed letter directed to my lord viſcount Moleſworth, *at his houſe at* Brackdenſtown, *near* Swords: *but I would have it ſent* printed, *for the convenience of his lordſhip's reading; becauſe this counterfeit hand of my prentice is not very legible. And, if you think fit to publiſh it, I would have you firſt get it read over by ſome* notable *lawyer: I am aſſured, you will find enough of them, who are friends to the* drapier, *and will do it without a fee; which, I am afraid, you can ill afford after all your expences. For although I have taken ſo much care, that I think it impoſſible to find a topick out of the following papers for ſending you again to priſon, yet I will not venture to be your guarantee.*

This enſuing letter contains only a ſhort account of myſelf, and an humble apology for my former pamphlets, eſpecially the laſt; *with little mention of Mr.* Wood, *or his* half-pence; *becauſe I have already*

dy ſaid enough upon that ſubject, until occaſion ſhall be given for new fears; *and, in that caſe, you may perhaps hear from me again. I am,*

Your friend

From my ſhop in St. *Francis-ſtreet*, *Dec.* 14, 1724.

and ſervant,

M. B.

P. S. *For want of intercourſe between you and me, which I never will ſuffer* *, *your people are apt to make very groſs errors in the preſs, which I deſire you will provide againſt.*

* The copies were always ſent to the preſs by ſome obſcure meſſenger, who never knew the perſon from whom he received them, but gave them in at a window. The amanuenſis only was truſted, to whom about two years after the author gave an employment of 40 *l.* a year as a reward for his fidelity.

TO

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

The Lord Viſcount *Moleſworth*,

At his houſe at *Brackdenſtown* near *Swords*.

My Lord,

I REFLECT too late on the maxim of common obſervers, that thoſe who meddle in matters out of their calling will have reaſon to repent; which is now verified in me: for, by engaging in the trade of a writer, I have drawn upon myſelf the diſpleaſure of the government, ſignified by a *proclamation* promiſing a reward of three hundred pounds to the firſt *faithful* ſubject, who ſhall be able and inclined to *inform* againſt me; to which I may add, the *laudable zeal and induſtry* of my lord chief-juſtice *Whitſhed*, in his endeavours to diſcover ſo dangerous a perſon. Therefore, whether I repent or no, I have certainly cauſe to do ſo; and the common obſervation ſtill ſtands good.

It will ſometimes happen, I know not how, in the courſe of human affairs, that a man ſhall be made liable

to

to *legal* animadverſions, where he hath nothing to anſwer for either to *God* or his *country*; and condemned at *Weſtminſter-hall*, for what he will never be charged with at the *day of judgment*.

After ſtrictly examining my own heart, and conſulting ſome divines of great reputation, I cannot accuſe myſelf of any * *malice* or *wickedneſs againſt the publick*; of any *deſigns to ſow ſedition*; of *reflecting on the king and his miniſters*; or of endeavouring *to alienate the affections of the people of this kingdom from thoſe of* England. All I can charge myſelf with, is a weak attempt to ſerve a nation in danger of deſtruction by a moſt wicked and malicious projector, without waiting until I were called to its aſſiſtance. Which attempt, however it may perhaps give me the title of *pragmatical* and *overweening*, will never lie a burthen upon my conſcience. God knows whether I may not, with all my caution, have already run myſelf into a ſecond danger, by offering thus much in my own vindication.

* Articles mentioned in the indictment and proclamation.

For

For I have heard of a *judge*, who upon the criminal's *appeal* to the *dreadful day of judgment*, told him, he had incurred a *premunire* for *appealing to a foreign juriſdiction:* and of another in *Wales*, who ſeverely check'd the priſoner for offering the ſame plea; taxing him with reflecting on the court by ſuch a compariſon; becauſe *compariſons were odious.*

But, in order to make ſome excuſe for being more ſpeculative than others of my condition, I deſire your lordſhip's pardon, while I am doing a very fooliſh thing; which is to give you ſome little account of myſelf.

I was bred at a free-ſchool, where I acquired ſome little knowledge in the *Latin tongue.* I ſerved my apprenticeſhip in *London*, and there ſet up for my ſelf with good ſucceſs; until, by the *death of ſome friends, and misfortunes of others*, I returned into this kingdom; and began to employ my thoughts in cultivating the *woolen manufacture* through all its branches; wherein I met with great diſcouragement, and powerful oppoſers, whoſe

whoſe objections appeared to me very ſtrange and ſingular. They argued, that the people of *England* would be offended, if our manufactures were brought to equal theirs: and even ſome of the *weaving* trade were my enemies; which I could not but look upon as *abſurd* and *unnatural*. I remember your lordſhip at that time did me the honour to come into my ſhop, where I ſhewed you * a piece of *black and white ſtuff* juſt ſent from the *dyer*; which you were pleaſed to approve of, and be my cuſtomer for.

However, I was ſo mortified, that I reſolved for the future to ſit quietly in my ſhop, and deal in *common goods*, like the reſt of my brethren; until it happened ſome months ago, conſidering with myſelf, that the *lower and poorer ſort of people* wanted a *plain, ſtrong courſe ſtuff to defend them againſt cold* eaſterly *winds, which then blew very fierce and blaſting for a long time together*; I contrived one on purpoſe, which

* By this is meant, the *Propoſal for the univerſal uſe of* Iriſh *manufactures*.

ſold

ſold very well all over the kingdom, and preſerved many thouſands from *agues*. I then made a * *ſecond* and a *third* kind of *ſtuffs* for the *gentry*, with the ſame ſucceſs; inſomuch, that an *ague* hath hardly been heard of for ſome time.

This incited me ſo far, that I ventured upon a † *fourth* piece, made of the beſt *Iriſh* wool I could get; and I thought it grave and rich enough to be worn by the beſt *lord* or *judge* of the land. But of late ſome *great folks* complain, as I hear, that when they had it on, they felt a *ſhuddering in their limbs*, and have thrown it off in a rage; curſing to hell the poor *drapier*, who invented it: ſo that I am determined never to *work for perſons of quality* again; except for your *lordſhip* and a *very few more*.

I aſſure your lordſhip, upon the word of an honeſt citizen, that I am not richer, by the value of one of Mr. *Wood's* halfpence, with the ſale of all the ſeveral *ſtuffs* I have contrived: for, I give the

* The *drapier's* three firſt letters.

† The fourth letter, againſt which the proclamation was iſſued.

whole profit to the *dyers* and *preſſers* *. And therefore I hope you will pleaſe to believe, that no other motive, beſides the love of my country, could engage me to buſy my head and hands to the loſs of my time, and the gain of nothing but *vexation* and *ill will*.

I have now in hand one *piece of ſtuff* to be woven on purpoſe for your lordſhip; although I might be aſhamed to offer it to you, after I have confeſſed, that it will be made only from the † *ſhreds and remnants of the wool employed in the former*. However I ſhall *work* it up as well as I can; and at worſt, you need only give it among your tenants.

I am very ſenſible, how ill your lordſhip is like to be entertained with the pedantry of a *drapier* in the terms of his own trade. How will the matter be mended, when you find me entering again, although very ſparingly, into an affair of ſtate? for ſuch is now grown the controverſy with Mr. *Wood*, if ſome *great lawyers* are to be credited. And as

* Printers. † Meaning the preſent letter.

it

it often happens at play, that men begin with *farthings*, and go on to *gold*, till ſome of them loſe their eſtates and die in jail: ſo it may poſſibly fall out in my caſe, that by *playing* too long with Mr. *Wood's* half-pence, I may be drawn in to pay a *fine* double to the reward for *betraying* me; be ſent to priſon, and *not be delivered thence until I ſhall have paid the uttermoſt farthing*.

There are, my lord, three ſorts of perſons, with whom I am reſolved never to diſpute: a *highway-man* with a piſtol at my breaſt; *a troop of dragoons*, who come to plunder my houſe; and a *man of the law*, who can make a merit of accuſing me. In each of theſe caſes, *which are almoſt the ſame*, the beſt method is to *keep out of the way*; and the next beſt is to *deliver your money, ſurrender your houſe*, and *confeſs nothing*.

I am told, that the two points in my laſt letter, from which an occaſion of offence hath been taken, are, where I mention his majeſty's anſwer to the addreſs of the houſe of lords upon Mr.

Wood's patent; and where I diſcourſe upon *Ireland's* being a *dependent kingdom.* As to the former, I can only ſay, that I have treated it with the utmoſt reſpect and caution; and I thought it neceſſary to ſhew where *Wood's* patent differed in many eſſential parts from all others that ever had been granted; becauſe the contrary had, for want of due information, been ſo ſtrongly and ſo largely aſſerted. As to the other, of *Ireland's dependency*; I confeſs to have often heard it mentioned, but was never able to underſtand what it meant. This gave me the curioſity to enquire among ſeveral eminent lawyers, who profeſſed they knew nothing of the matter. I then turned over all the ſtatutes of both kingdoms without the leaſt information, further than an *Iriſh* act, that I quoted, of the 33d of *Henry* VIII, uniting *Ireland* to *England* under one king. I cannot ſay, I was *ſorry* to be diſappointed in my ſearch, becauſe it is certain, I could be *contented* to *depend* only upon *God* and my *prince*, and the *laws of my own country, after the manner*

ner of other nations. But ſince my *betters* are of a *different opinion*, and deſire *further dependencies*, I ſhall outwardly ſubmit; yet ſtill inſiſting in my own heart upon the *exception* I made of *M. B. drapier.* Indeed that hint was borrowed from an idle ſtory I had heard in *England*, which perhaps may be common and beaten; but becauſe it *inſinuates neither treaſon nor ſedition*, I will juſt barely relate it.

Some hundred years ago, when the peers were ſo great that the commons were looked upon as little better than their *dependents*, a bill was brought in for making ſome new additions to the power and privileges of the peerage. After it was read, one Mr. *Drue*, a member of the houſe, ſtood up, and ſaid, he very much approved the bill, and would give his vote to have it paſs; but however, for ſome reaſons beſt known to himſelf, he deſired that a clauſe might be inſerted for *excepting the family of the* Drues. The oddneſs of the propoſition taught others to reflect a little; and the bill was thrown out.

Whether I were miſtaken, or *went too far* in examining the *dependency*, muſt be left to the impartial judgment of the world, as well as to the courts of judicature; although indeed not in ſo *effectual* and *deciſive a manner*. But to affirm, as I hear ſome do, in order to countenance a fearful and ſervile ſpirit, that this point did not *belong to my ſubject*, is a falſe and fooliſh objection. There were ſeveral ſcandalous reports induſtriouſly ſpread by *Wood* and his accomplices, to diſcourage all oppoſition againſt his infamous project. They gave it out, that we were prepared for a *rebellion*; that we diſputed the king's *prerogative*, and were ſhaking off our *dependency*. The firſt went ſo far, and obtained ſo much belief againſt the moſt viſible demonſtrations to the contrary, that a *great perſon* of this kingdom, now in *England*, ſent over ſuch an account of it to his friends as would make any good ſubject both grieve and tremble. I thought it therefore neceſſary to treat that calumny as it deſerved. Then I proved by an invincible argument, that

we

we could have no intention to diſpute his majeſty's *prerogative*; becauſe the *prerogative* was not concerned in the queſtion; the civilians and lawyers of all nations agreeing that *copper is not money*. And laſtly, to clear us from the imputation of ſhaking off our *dependency*, I ſhewed wherein I thought, and ſhall ever think, this *dependence* conſiſted; and cited the ſtatute above-mentioned made in *Ireland*; by which it is enacted, that *whoever is king of* England, *ſhall be king of* Ireland; and that the two kingdoms ſhall be *for ever knit together under one king*. This, as I conceived, did wholly acquit us of intending to break our *dependency*; becauſe it was altogether out of our power: for ſurely no king of *England* will ever conſent to the repeal of this ſtatute.

But upon this article I am charged with a heavier accuſation. It is ſaid I *went too far*, when I declared, that *if ever the* Pretender *ſhould come to be fixed upon the throne of* England *(which God forbid), I would ſo far venture to tranſgreſs this ſtatute, that I would loſe the*

laſt drop of my blood, before I would ſubmit to him as king of Ireland.

This I hear on all ſides is the ſtrongeſt and weightieſt objection againſt me; and which hath given the moſt offence; that I ſhould be ſo bold to declare againſt a direct ſtatute; and that any motive, how ſtrong ſoever, could make me reject a king, whom *England* ſhould receive. Now, if in defending myſelf from this accuſation I ſhould freely confeſs, that I *went too far*; that the expreſſion was very indiſcreet, although occaſioned by my zeal for his preſent majeſty, and his proteſtant line in the houſe of *Hanover*; that I ſhall be careful never to offend again in the like kind; and that I hope this free acknowledgment and ſorrow for my error will be ſome atonement, and a little ſoften the hearts of my powerful adverſaries: I ſay, if I ſhould offer ſuch a defence as this, I do not doubt but ſome people would wreſt it to an ill meaning by a ſpiteful interpretation. And therefore, ſince I cannot think of any other anſwer, which that paragraph can admit, I will leave it to the

the mercy of every candid reader; but ſtill without recanting my own opinion.

I will now venture to tell your lordſhip a ſecret, wherein I fear you are too deeply concerned. You will therefore pleaſe to know, that this habit of writing and diſcourſing, wherein I unfortunately differ from *almoſt* the whole kingdom, and am apt to grate the ears of more than I could wiſh, was acquired during my apprenticeſhip in *London*, and a long reſidence there after I had ſet up for myſelf. Upon my return and ſettlement here, I thought I had only *changed one country of freedom for another*. I had been long converſing with the writings of your lordſhip, Mr. *Locke*, Mr. *Molineux*, colonel *Sidney**, and other dangerous authors, who talk of *liberty as a bleſſing, to which the whole race of mankind hath an original title; whereof nothing but unlawful force can diveſt them.* I knew a great deal of the ſeveral *Gothic* inſtitutions in *Europe*; and by what incidents and events they came to be de-

* He publiſhed a book in the reign of king *William* III, intituled the State of *Denmark*, with a large preface.

ſtroyed: and I ever thought it the moſt uncontrouled and univerſally agreed maxim, that *freedom conſiſts in a people's being governed by laws made with their own conſent; and ſlavery in the contrary.* I have been likewiſe told, and believe it to be true, that *liberty* and *property* are words of known uſe and ſignification in this kingdom; and the very lawyers pretend to underſtand, and have them often in their mouths. Theſe were the errors, which have miſled me; and to which alone I muſt impute the ſevere treatment I have received. But I ſhall in time *grow wiſer*, and learn to conſider my *driver*, the *road I am in*, and *with whom I am yoked.* This I will venture to ſay; that the boldeſt and moſt obnoxious words I ever delivered, would in *England* have only expoſed me as a ſtupid fool, who went to prove that *the ſun ſhone in a clear ſummer's day:* and I have witneſſes ready to depoſe, that your lordſhip hath ſaid and writ fifty times worſe; and, what is ſtill an aggravation, with infinitely more wit and learning, and ſtronger arguments: ſo that as politicks

politicks run, I do not know a perſon of more exceptionable principles than yourſelf: and if ever I ſhall be diſcovered, I think you will be bound in honour to pay my fine, and ſupport me in priſon; or elſe I may chance to *inform* againſt you by way of *repriſal*.

In the mean time I beg your lordſhip to receive my confeſſion; that if there be any ſuch thing as a *dependency* of *Ireland* upon *England*, otherwiſe than as I have explained it, either by the *law* of *God*, of *nature*, of *reaſon*, of *nations*, or of the *land* (which I ſhall die rather than grant), then was the *proclamation* againſt me the moſt *merciful* that ever was put out; and, inſtead of accuſing me as *malicious*, *wicked*, and *ſeditious*, it might have been directly as guilty of *high treaſon*.

All I deſire is, that the cauſe of my country againſt Mr. *Wood* may not ſuffer by any inadvertency of mine. Whether *Ireland* depends upon *England*, or only upon *God*, the *king*, and the *law*; I hope no man will aſſert, that it *depends* upon Mr. *Wood*. I ſhould be heartily

ſorry

ſorry that this *commendable* ſpirit againſt me ſhould accidentally (and what, *I hope*, was never intended) ſtrike a damp upon that ſpirit in all ranks and corporations of men againſt the deſperate and ruinous deſign of Mr. *Wood*. Let my countrymen blot out thoſe parts in my laſt letter, which they diſlike; and let no *ruſt* remain on my *ſword* to cure the wounds I have given to our moſt mortal enemy. When Sir *Charles Sidley* was taking the oaths, where ſeveral things were to be *renounced*, he ſaid, he loved *renouncing*; aſked if any more were to be *renounced*; for he was ready to *renounce* as much as they pleaſed. Although I am not ſo thorough a *renouncer*, yet let me have but *good city ſecurity* againſt this peſtilent coinage, and I ſhall be ready not only to *renounce* every ſyllable in all my four letters, but to deliver them chearfully with my own *hands* into *thoſe* of the common *hangman* to be burnt with no better company than the *coiner's effigies*, if any part of it hath eſcaped out of the *ſecular hands* of my faithful friends, the common people.

But,

But, whatever the ſentiments of *ſome people* may be, I think it is agreed that many of thoſe who *ſubſcribed* againſt me, are on the ſide of a vaſt majority in the kingdom, who oppoſed Mr. *Wood* *: and it was with great ſatisfaction, that I obſerved ſome *right honourable names* very *amicably* joined with my own at the bottom of a *ſtrong declaration* againſt him and his coin. But if the admiſſion of it among us be *already determined*, the *worthy* perſon, who is to *betray* me, ought in prudence to do it with all convenient ſpeed; or elſe it may be difficult to find three hundred pounds *ſterling* for the diſcharge of his *hire*, when the publick ſhall have loſt five hundred thouſand, if there be ſo much in the

* As the *Drapier's* letters were written expreſsly againſt *Wood's* half-pence, it might well be imagined that a proclamation againſt the author would produce an opinion, that to oppoſe *Wood's* half-pence was illegal, and ſubjected the party to pains and penalties: to prevent ſo fatal a miſtake, it is here remarked, that many of thoſe who ſubſcribed the proclamation, were yet ſtrenuous oppoſers of *Wood's* project. This diſtinction is yet more explicit in the letter to lord *Middleton*, which was written ſoon after the fourth letter, and intended to be the fifth, though for ſome reaſons deferred.—See the letter to lord *Middleton* and the note prefixed.

nation; beſides four fifths of its annual income for ever.

I am told by lawyers, that in quarrels between man and man it is of much weight, which of them gave the firſt provocation, or ſtruck the firſt blow. It is manifeſt that Mr. *Wood* hath done both: and therefore I ſhould humbly propoſe to have him firſt *hanged*, and his *droſs* thrown into the ſea: after which the *drapier* will be ready to ſtand his trial. *It muſt needs be that offences come, but wo unto him by whom the offence cometh.* If Mr. *Wood* had held his *hand*, every body elſe would have held their *tongues:* and then there would have been little need of *pamphlets*, *juries*, or *proclamations* upon this occaſion. The provocation muſt needs have been very great, which could ſtir up an obſcure, indolent *drapier* to become an *author*. One would almoſt think, the very *ſtones* in the ſtreet would *riſe* up in ſuch a cauſe: and I am not ſure they will not *do ſo* againſt Mr. *Wood*, if ever he comes within their reach. It is a known ſtory of the dumb boy, whoſe tongue forced a paſſage

paſſage for ſpeech by the horror of ſeeing a dagger at his father's throat. This may leſſen the wonder, that a tradeſman hid in privacy and ſilence ſhould *cry out*, when the life and being of his political *mother* are attempted before his face, and by ſo infamous a wretch.

But in the mean time Mr. *Wood*, the *deſtroyer* of a kingdom, walks about in triumph (unleſs it be true, that he is in jail for debt); while he who endeavoured to *aſſert the liberty of his country* is forced to *hide his head* for occaſionally dealing in a matter of *controverſy*. However, I am not the firſt who hath been condemned to death for *gaining a great victory* over a powerful enemy by diſobeying for *once* the ſtrict orders of military diſcipline.

I am now reſolved to follow (after the uſual proceeding of mankind, becauſe it is too late) the advice given me by a certain *dean* *. He ſhewed the miſtake I was in, of truſting to the general good will of the people; that I had ſucceeded hitherto better than could be

* The author is ſuppoſed to mean himſelf.

expected;

expected; but that ſome unfortunate *circumſtantial lapſe* would probably bring me within the reach of *power*: that my good intentions would be no ſecurity againſt *thoſe who watched every motion of my pen in the bitterneſs of my ſoul.* He produced an inſtance of a perſon as innocent, as diſintereſted, and as well-meaning as myſelf; who had written † a very ſeaſonable and inoffenſive treatiſe, exhorting the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures; for which however the printer was proſecuted with the utmoſt virulence; the *jury ſent back nine times*; and the man given up to the mercy of the court. The *dean* further obſerved, that I was in a manner left alone to ſtand the *battle*; while others, who had ten thouſand times better talents than a *drapier*, were ſo prudent as to lie ſtill; and perhaps thought it no unpleaſant amuſement to look on with ſafety, while another was giving them *diverſion* at the hazard of his liberty and fortune; and thought

† The author means himſelf again; in the diſcourſe adviſing the people of *Ireland* to wear their own manufactures.

they

they made a ſufficient recompence by a little applauſe: whereupon he concluded with a ſhort ſtory of a *Jew* at *Madrid*; who being condemned to the fire on account of his religion, a crowd of ſchool-boys following him to the ſtake, and apprehending they might loſe their *ſport* if he ſhould happen to recant, would often *clap him on the back*, and cry, *Sta firme, Moyſe (Moſes, continue ſtedfaſt)*.

I allow this gentleman's advice to have been very good, and his obſervations juſt; and in one reſpect my condition is worſe than that of the *Jew*: for *no recantation will ſave me*. However, it ſhould ſeem by *ſome late proceedings*, that my ſtate is not altogether deplorable. This I can impute to nothing but the ſteadineſs of *two impartial grand-juries*; which hath confirmed in me an opinion I have long entertained; that, as philoſophers ſay, *virtue is ſeated in the middle*; ſo in another ſenſe, the little *virtue* left in the world is chiefly to be found among the *middle* rank of mankind, who are neither *allured* out of her paths by *ambition*, nor *driven* by *poverty*.

Since

Since the *proclamation* occaſioned by my laſt letter, and a *due* preparation for proceeding againſt me in a court of juſtice, there have been two printed papers clandeſtinely ſpread about; whereof no man is able to trace the original, further than by *conjecture*; which, with its uſual charity, lays them to my account. The former is intituled, *Seaſonable advice*, and appears to have been intended for information of the grand-jury, upon the ſuppoſition of a bill to be prepared againſt that letter. The other is an extract from a printed book of parliamentary proceedings, in the year 1680; containing an angry reſolution of the houſe of commons in *England* againſt *diſſolving grand-juries*. As to the former, your lordſhip will find it to be the work of a more artful hand than that of a common *drapier*. It hath been cenſured for endeavouring to influence the minds of a jury, which ought to be wholly free and unbiaſſed; and for that reaſon *it is manifeſt*, that no *judge* was ever known, either *upon* or *off* the bench, either by *himſelf* or

his *dependents*, to uſe the *leaſt inſinuation*, that might poſſibly affect the paſſions or intereſts of any one ſingle *juryman*, much leſs of a whole *jury*; whereof every man *muſt* be *convinced*, who will juſt give himſelf the trouble to dip into the common printed trials: ſo as it is amazing to think, what a number of *upright judges* there have been in both kingdoms for above *ſixty years paſt*; which, conſidering how long they held their offices *during pleaſure*, as they *ſtill do among us* *, I account next to a *miracle*.

As to the other paper, I muſt confeſs it is a ſharp cenſure from an *Engliſh* houſe of commons againſt *diſſolving grand-juries* by any judge before the end of the term, aſſizes, or ſeſſions, while matters are under their conſideration, and not preſented, as arbitrary, illegal, deſtructive to public juſtice, a manifeſt violation of his oath, and as a

* Perhaps this may account for *Whitſhed's* conduct. See the notes prefixed to the *Propoſal for the ſole uſe of Iriſh manufactures*, and ſuperadded to the *Seaſonable advice to the grand jury*.

means to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

However, the publiſher ſeems to have been miſtaken in what he aimed at. For whatever *dependance* there may be of *Ireland* upon *England*, I hope he would not inſinuate, that the proceedings of a *lord chief-juſtice* in *Ireland* muſt *depend* upon a *reſolution* of an *Engliſh* houſe of commons. Beſides, that *reſolution*, although it were leveled againſt a particular lord chief-juſtice, Sir *William Scroggs*, yet the occaſion was directly contrary. For *Scroggs diſſolved the grand-jury* of *London* for fear they *ſhould* preſent; but ours in *Dublin* was *diſſolved*, becauſe they would *not* preſent; which *wonderfully alters the caſe*. And therefore a *ſecond grand jury* ſupplied that defect by making a preſentment * that *pleaſed the whole kingdom*. However, I think it is agreed by all parties, that both the one and the other *jury* behaved themſelves in ſuch a manner, as ought to be remembered to their honour, while there ſhall be any

* See *the preſentment* immediately preceding this letter.

regard

regard left among us for *virtue* or *public ſpirit*.

I am confident, your lordſhip will be of my ſentiments in one thing; that ſome ſhort plain authentic tract might be publiſhed for the information both of *petty* and *grand-juries*, how far their power reacheth, and where it is limited; and that a printed copy of ſuch a treatiſe might be depoſited in every court, to be conſulted by the jurymen, before they conſider of their verdict; by which abundance of inconveniences would be avoided, whereof innumerable inſtances might be produced from former Times; becauſe I will ſay nothing of the preſent.

I have read ſomewhere of an *Eaſtern* king, who put a *judge* to death for an iniquitous ſentence, and ordered his *hide to be ſtuffed into a cuſhion*, and placed upon the tribunal for the ſon to ſit on, who was preferred to his father's office. I fancy, ſuch a *memorial* might not have been unuſeful to a ſon of Sir *William Scroggs*, and that both he and his ſucceſſors would often *wriggle* in their ſeats,

as long as the *cuſhion* laſted: I wiſh the relator had told us what number of ſuch *cuſhions* there might be in that country.

I cannot but obſerve to your lordſhip, how nice and dangerous a point it is grown, for a private perſon to inform the people, even in an affair where the public intereſt and ſafety are ſo highly concerned as that of Mr. *Wood*; and this in a country where *loyalty is woven into the very hearts of the people*, ſeems a little extraordinary. Sir *William Scroggs* was the firſt who introduced that *commendable acuteneſs into the courts of judicature*; but how far this practice hath been imitated by his ſucceſſors, or *ſtrained upon occaſion*, is out of my knowledge. When pamphlets *unpleaſing to the miniſtry* were preſented as libels, he would order the offenſive paragraphs to be read before him; and ſaid it was ſtrange, that the judges and lawyers of the *King's-bench* ſhould be duller than all the people of *England:* and he was often ſo very happy in applying the initial letters of names,

names, and expounding *dubious hints* (the two common expedients among writers of that claſs for eſcaping the law), that he diſcovered much *more* than ever the authors intended; as many of them, or their printers, found to their coſt. If ſuch methods are to be followed in examining what I have already written, or may write hereafter, upon the ſubject of Mr. *Wood*, I defy any man of fifty times my underſtanding and caution to avoid being *entrapped:* unleſs he will be content to write what none will read, by repeating over the old arguments and computations, whereof the world is already grown weary. So that my good friend *Harding* lies under this *dilemma*; either to let my *learned works* hang for ever a drying upon his lines; or venture to publiſh them at the hazard of being laid by the heels.

I need not tell your lordſhip where the difficulty lies: it is true, that the king and the laws *permit* us to refuſe this coin of Mr. *Wood*; but at the ſame time it is equally true, that the king and the laws *permit* us to receive it. Now, it is

barely poſſible, that the miniſters in *England* may not ſuppoſe the conſequences of uttering that braſs among us to be ſo ruinous as we apprehend; becauſe perhaps, if they underſtood it in that light, they would in common humanity uſe their credit with his majeſty for ſaving *a moſt loyal kingdom from deſtruction*. But as long as it ſhall pleaſe thoſe great perſons to think that coin will not be *ſo very* pernicious to us, we lie under the diſadvantage of being cenſured as obſtinate in not complying with a royal patent. Therefore nothing remains but to make uſe of that *liberty*, which the *king* and the *laws* have left us, by continuing to refuſe this coin; and by frequent remembrances to keep up that ſpirit raiſed againſt it, which otherwiſe may be apt to flag, and perhaps in time to ſink altogether. For, any public order againſt receiving or uttering Mr. *Wood's* halfpence is not reaſonably to be expected in this kingdom without directions from *England*; which I think no body preſumes, or is ſo ſanguine to hope.

But to confeſs the truth, my lord, I begin

begin to grow weary of my office as a writer; and could heartily wiſh it were devolved upon my *brethren*, the makers of *ſongs* and *ballads*, who perhaps are the beſt qualified at preſent to gather up the gleanings of this controverſy. As to myſelf, it hath been my misfortune to begin, and purſue it upon a wrong foundation. For, having detected the frauds and falſhoods of this vile impoſtor *Wood* in every part, I fooliſhly *diſdained* to have recourſe to *whining*, *lamenting*, and *crying for mercy*; but rather choſe to *appeal* to *law* and *liberty*, and *the common rights of mankind*, without conſidering the *climate* I was in.

Since your laſt reſidence in *Ireland*, I frequently have taken my nag to ride about your grounds; where I fancied myſelf to feel an air of *freedom* breathing round me; and I am glad the low condition of a tradeſman did not qualify me to wait on you at your houſe; for then, I am afraid, my writings would not have eſcaped *ſeverer cenſures*. But I have lately ſold my nag, and honeſtly told his greateſt fault, which was that

of ſnuffing up the air about *Brackden-ſtown*; whereby he became ſuch a lover of *liberty*, that I could ſcarce hold him in. I have likewiſe buried at the bottom of a ſtrong cheſt your lordſhip's writings under a heap of others, that treat of *liberty*; and ſpread over a *layer* or two of *Hobbes*, *Filmer*, *Bodin*, and many more authors of that ſtamp, to be readieſt at hand, whenever I ſhall be diſpoſed to take up a *new ſett* of principles in government. In the mean time I deſign quietly to look to my ſhop, and keep as far out of your lordſhip's influence as poſſible: and, if you ever ſee any more of my writings on this ſubject, I promiſe you ſhall find them as innocent, as inſipid, and without a ſting, as what I have now offered you. But, if your lordſhip will pleaſe to give me an eaſy leaſe of ſome part of your eſtate in *Yorkſhire*, thither will I carry my cheſt: and turning it upſide down, reſume my political reading where I left off; feed on plain homely fare, and live and die a free honeſt *Engliſh* farmer; but not without regret for leaving my countrymen un-

under the dread of the brazen talons of Mr. *Wood:* my moſt loyal and innocent countrymen; to whom I owe ſo much for their good opinion of me, and my poor endeavours to ſerve them. I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord,

your lordſhip's

moſt obedient

and moſt humble ſervant,

From my ſhop in St. *Francis-ſtreet,* *Dec.* 14, 1724. M. B.

Theſe papers (for the *ſixth* and *ſeventh letters* were not publiſhed till long afterwards) prevailed, notwithſtanding threats, proſecutions, and impriſonment, againſt all the influence of power and all the artifices of cunning: perſons of every rank and every ſect united with the *drapier* in the common cauſe, his health was a perpetual toaſt, and his effigies were diſplayed in every ſtreet; *Wood* was compelled to withdraw his patent, and his half-pence were totally ſuppreſſed.

BY many paſſages in the following letter, and by the date October 6, 1724, it appears to have been written ſoon after the proclamation againſt the *drapier* for his fourth letter, and before the jury had thrown out the bill of indictment. At this criſis perhaps the dean did not chuſe to reſume a character which was become obnoxious, and therefore wrote in his own: the original was ſigned with his name, though it appeared to have been obliterated by another hand: for ſome reaſon the publication of it was delayed, and it was firſt printed in an edition of the dean's works publiſhed at *Dublin* in 1735. This however is not the only reaſon why it is placed after the fifth letter, for the fifth letter appears to have been ſubſtituted in its ſtead, and not intended to follow it. The fourth letter, both in this and in the fifth is called the *laſt*, which could not have happened if both had been parts of the ſame ſeries.

The reader will now eaſily account for thoſe paſſages in the ſixth, by which the proſecution againſt *Harding* appears to be depending, though in the fifth it is mentioned as paſt.

A

LETTER

TO THE

LORD CHANCELLOR

MIDDLETON *.

Written in the year 1724.

My Lord,

I Deſire you will conſider me as a member, who comes in at the latter end of a debate; or as a lawyer, who ſpeaks to a cauſe when the matter hath been almoſt exhauſted by thoſe who ſpoke before.

I remember ſome months ago I was at your houſe upon a commiſſion, where I am one of the governors; but I went thither not ſo much on account of the commiſſion, as to aſk you ſome queſtions concerning Mr. *Wood's* patent to coin half-pence for *Ireland*; where you very

* He ſigned the proclamation againſt the *drapier*.

freely

freely told me in a mixt company, how much you had been always againſt that wicked project*; which raiſed in me an eſteem for you ſo far, that I went in a few days to make you a viſit after many years intermiſſion. I am likewiſe told, that your ſon wrote two letters from *London* (one of which I have ſeen), empowering thoſe, to whom they were directed, to aſſure his friends, that whereas there was a malicious report ſpread of his engaging himſelf to Mr. *Walpole* for forty thouſand pounds of *Wood's* coin to be received in *Ireland*, the ſaid report was falſe and groundleſs; and he had never diſcourſed with that miniſter on this ſubject, nor would ever give his conſent to have one farthing of the ſaid coin current here. And although it be long ſince I have given myſelf the trouble of converſing with people of titles or ſtations; yet I have been told by thoſe who can take up with ſuch amuſements, that there is not a conſiderable perſon

* Lord *Middleton*, though he ſigned the proclamation againſt the *drapier*, was yet an enemy to *Wood's* project, as appears by ſeveral paſſages in this letter.

of

f the kingdom ſcrupulous in any ſort
› declare his opinion. But all this is
eedleſs to alledge, when we conſider,
hat the ruinous conſequences of *Wood's*
atent have been ſo ſtrongly repreſent-
d by both houſes of parliament; by the
rivy-council; the lord mayor and al-
ermen of *Dublin*; by ſo many corpo-
ations; and the concurrence of the
rincipal gentlemen in moſt counties at
heir quarter-ſeſſions, without any re-
ard to party, religion, or nation.

I conclude from hence, that the cur-
ency of theſe half-pence would in the
niverſal opinion of our people be utter-
y deſtructive to this kingdom; and
onſequently that it is every man's duty
ot only to refuſe this coin himſelf, but
s far as in him lies, to perſuade others
o do the like: and whether this be done
n private or in print, is all a caſe; as
o layman is forbidden to write, or to
iſcourſe upon religious or moral ſub-
ects, although he may not do it in a
pulpit (at leaſt in our church). Neither
is this an affair of ſtate, until authority
ſhall think fit to declare it ſo: or if you

ſhould underſtand it in that ſenſe, yet you will pleaſe to conſider, that I am not now preaching.

Therefore I do think it my duty, ſince the *drapier* will probably be no more heard of, ſo far to ſupply his place, as not to incur his fortune: for I have learnt from old experience, that there are times wherein a man ought to be cautious as well as innocent. I therefore hope, that preſerving both thoſe characters, I may be allowed, by offering new arguments or enforcing old ones, to refreſh the memory of my fellow-ſubjects, and keep up that good ſpirit raiſed among them to preſerve themſelves from utter ruin by lawful means, and ſuch as are permitted by his majeſty.

I believe you will pleaſe to allow me two propoſitions: firſt, that we are a moſt loyal people; and ſecondly, that we are a free people, in the common acceptation of that word applied to a ſubject under a limited monarch. I know very well, that you and I did many years ago in diſcourſe differ much in the preſence of lord *Wharton* about the meaning

ing of that word *liberty* with relation to *Ireland*. But if you will not allow us to be a free people; there is only another appellation left, which I doubt, my lord chief juſtice *Whitſhed* would call me to account for, if I venture to beſtow: for I obſerved (and I ſhall never forget upon what occaſion) the device upon his coach to be *Libertas & natale ſolum*, at the very point of time when he was ſitting in his court, and perjuring himſelf to betray both. *

Now, as for our loyalty to his preſent majeſty; if it hath ever been equalled in any other part of his dominions, I am ſure it hath never been exceeded: and I am confident he hath not a miniſter in *England*, who could ever call it once in queſtion; but that ſome hard rumours at leaſt have been tranſmitted from t'other ſide the water, I ſuppoſe you will not doubt: and rumours of the ſevereſt kind; which many good people have imputed to the indirect proceeding of Mr. *Wood* and his emiſſaries: as if he endeavoured it ſhould be thought,

* See *the addreſs to both houſes of parliament*, by M. B. *drapier*.

that our loyalty depended upon the teſt of refuſing or taking his copper. Now, as I am ſure you will admit us to be a loyal people; ſo you will think it pardonable in us to hope for all proper marks of favour and protection from ſo gracious a king, that a loyal and free people can expect: among which, we all agree in reckoning this to be one; that *Wood's* half-pence may never have entrance into this kingdom. And this we ſhall continue to *wiſh*, when we dare no longer expreſs our wiſhes; although there were no ſuch mortal as a *drapier* in the world.

I am heartily ſorry, that any writer ſhould in a cauſe ſo generally approv'd give occaſion to the government and council to charge him with * paragraphs "highly reflecting upon his majeſty "and his miniſters; tending to alienate "the affections of his good ſubjects in "*England* and *Ireland* from each other; "and to promote ſedition among the "people." I muſt confeſs, that with many others I thought he meant well;

* In the *drapier's* 4th letter.

although

although he might have the failing of better writers, to be not always fortunate in the manner of expreſſing himſelf.

However, ſince the *drapier* is but one man, I ſhall think I do a public ſervice by aſſerting, that the reſt of my countrymen are wholly free from learning out of *his* pamphlets to reflect on the king or his miniſters, and to breed ſedition.

I ſolemnly declare, that I never once heard the leaſt reflexion caſt upon the king on the ſubject of Mr. *Wood's* coin: for in many diſcourſes on this matter, I do not remember his majeſty's name to be ſo much as mentioned. As to the miniſtry in *England*, the only two perſons hinted at were the duke of *Grafton* and Mr. *Walpole:* the former, as I have heard you and a hundred others affirm, declared that he never ſaw the patent in favour of Mr. *Wood*, before it was paſſed, although he was then lord lieutenant: and therefore I ſuppoſe every body believes that his grace hath been wholly unconcerned in it ever ſince.

Mr. *Walpole* was indeed ſuppoſed to be underſtood by the letter *W.* in ſeve-

ral news papers; where it is ſaid that ſome expreſſions fell from him not very favourable to the people of *Ireland*; for the truth of which the kingdom is not to anſwer, any more than for the diſcretion of the publiſhers. You obſerve, the *drapier* wholly clears Mr. *Walpole* of this charge by very ſtrong arguments; and ſpeaks of him with civility. I cannot deny myſelf to have been often preſent, where the company gave their opinion that Mr. *Walpole* favoured Mr. *Wood's* projects, which I always contradicted; and for my own part never once opened my lips againſt that miniſter, either in mixed or particular meetings: and my reaſon for this reſervedneſs was; becauſe it pleaſed him in the *queen's* time (I mean queen *Anne* of ever bleſſed memory) to make a ſpeech directly againſt me by name in the houſe of commons, as I was told a very few minutes after in the court of *requeſts* by more than fifty members.

But you, who are in a great ſtation here (if any thing here may be called great), cannot be ignorant, that whoever is underſtood by public voice to be chief

chief miniſter, will among the general talkers ſhare the blame, whether juſtly or no, of every thing that is diſliked; which I could eaſily make appear in many inſtances from my own knowledge, while I was in the world; and particularly in the caſe of the * greateſt, the wiſeſt, and the moſt uncorrupt miniſter I ever converſed with.

But whatever unpleaſing opinion ſome people might conceive of Mr. *Walpole* on account of thoſe half-pence, I dare boldly affirm it was entirely owing to Mr. *Wood*. Many perſons of credit come from *England* have affirmed to me and others, that they have ſeen letters under his hand, full of arrogance and inſolence towards *Ireland*, and boaſting of his favour with Mr. *Walpole*; which is highly probable; becauſe he reaſonably thought it for his intereſt to ſpread ſuch a report, and becauſe it is the known talent of low and little ſpirits, to have a great man's name perpetually in their mouths.

Thus I have ſufficiently juſtified the people of *Ireland* from learning any bad

* *Suppoſed to be the lord treaſurer* Oxford.

leſſon out of the *drapier's* pamphlets with reward to his majeſty and his miniſters: and therefore, if thoſe papers were intended to ſow ſedition among us, God be thanked the ſeeds have fallen upon a very improper ſoil.

As to alienating the affections of the people of *England* and *Ireland* from each other; I believe the *drapier*, whatever his intentions were, hath left that matter juſt as he found it.

I have lived long in both kingdoms, as well in country as in town; and therefore take myſelf to be as well informed as moſt men in the diſpoſitions of each people towards the other. By the people I underſtand here, only the bulk of the common people; and I deſire no lawyer may diſtort or extend my meaning.

There is a vein of induſtry and parſimony, that runs through the whole people of *England*, which, added to the eaſineſs of their rents, makes them rich and ſturdy. As to *Ireland*, they know little more of it than they do of *Mexico*; further than that it is a country ſubject to the king of *England*, full of bogs, inhabited

bited by wild *Iriſh papiſts*, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops ſent from thence: and their general opinion is, that it were better for *England* if this whole iſland were ſunk into the ſea: for they have a tradition, that every forty years there muſt be a rebellion in *Ireland*. I have ſeen the groſſeſt ſuppoſitions paſs upon them: that the *wild Iriſh* were taken in toyls; but that in ſome time they would grow ſo tame as to eat out of your hands: I have been aſked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours your tenants at *Pepperhara*, whether I had come from *Ireland* by ſea: and, upon the arrival of an *Iriſh man* to a country town, I have known crouds coming about him, and wondering to ſee him look ſo much better than themſelves.

A gentleman now in *Dublin* affirms, that, paſſing ſome months ago through *Northampton*, and finding the whole town in a flurry, with bells, bonfires, and illuminations; upon aſking the cauſe, he was told, it was for joy that the *Iriſh* had ſubmitted to receive *Wood's*

half-pence. This, I think, plainly ſhews what ſentiments that large town hath of us; and how little they made it their own caſe; although they lie directly in our way to *London*, and therefore cannot but be frequently convinced that we have human ſhapes.

As to the people of this kingdom, they conſiſt either of *Iriſh papiſts*, who are as inconſiderable in point of power as the women and children; or of *Engliſh proteſtants*, who love their brethren of that kingdom, although they may poſſibly ſometimes complain when they think they are hardly uſed: however, I confeſs, I do not ſee that it is of any great conſequence, how their perſonal affections ſtand to each other, while the ſea divides them, and while they continue in their loyalty to the ſame prince. And yet I will appeal to you, whether thoſe from *England* have reaſon to complain, when they come hither in purſuit of their fortunes? or, whether the people of *Ireland* have reaſon to boaſt, when they go to *England* upon the ſame deſign?

My

My ſecond propoſition was, that we of *Ireland* are a free people: this, I ſuppoſe, you will allow, at leaſt with certain limitations remaining in your own breaſt. However, I am ſure it is not criminal to affirm; becauſe the words *liberty* and *property*, as applied to the ſubject, are often mentioned in both houſes of parliament, as well as in yours and other courts below: from whence it muſt follow that the people of *Ireland* do, or *ought* to enjoy all the benefits of the common and ſtatute law; ſuch as to be tried by juries, to pay no money without their own conſent as repreſented in parliament, and the like. If this be ſo, and if it be univerſally agreed that a free people cannot by law be compelled to take any money in payment, except gold and ſilver; I do not ſee why any man ſhould be hindered from cautioning his countrymen againſt this coin of *William Wood*; who is endeavouring by fraud to rob us of that property, which the laws have ſecured. If I am miſtaken, and this copper can be obtruded on us, I would put the *drapier's* caſe in an-

ther light by ſuppoſing, that a perſon going into his ſhop ſhould agree for thirty ſhillings worth of goods, and force the ſeller to take his payment in a parcel of copper-pieces intrinſically not worth above a crown: I deſire to know whether the *drapier* would not be actually robbed of five and twenty ſhillings; and how far he could be ſaid to be maſter of his property? The ſame queſtion may be applied to rents and debts on bond or mortgage, and to all kind of commerce whatſoever.

Give me leave to do what the *drapier* hath done more than once before me; which is, to relate the naked fact, as it ſtands in the view of the world.

One *William Wood*, Eſq; and hardware-man, obtains by fraud a patent in *England* to coin 108,000*l.* in copper to paſs in *Ireland*, leaving us liberty to take or to refuſe. The people here, in all ſorts of bodies and repreſentatives, do openly and heartily declare, that they will not accept this coin: to juſtify theſe declarations, they generally offer two reaſons; firſt, becauſe by the words of the patent

patent they are left to their own choice; and ſecondly, becauſe they are not obliged by law: ſo that you ſee there is, *Bellum atque virum*, a kingdom on one ſide, and *William Wood* on the other. And if Mr. *Word* gets the victory at the expence of *Ireland's* ruin, and the profit of one or two hundred thouſand pounds (I mean by continuing, and counterfeiting as long as he lives) for himſelf; I doubt, both preſent and future ages will at leaſt think it a very ſingular ſcheme.

If this fact be truly ſtated, I muſt confeſs, I look upon it as my duty, ſo far as God hath enabled me, and as long as I keep within the bounds of truth, of duty, and of decency, to warn my fellow-ſubjects as they value their king, their country, and all that ought or can be dear to them, never to admit this pernicious coin; no not ſo much as one ſingle half-penny. For if one ſingle thief forces the door, it is in vain to talk of keeping out the whole crew behind.

And while I ſhall be thus employed, I will never give myſelf leave to ſuppoſe

that what I ſay can either offend my * *lord lieutenant*, whoſe perſon and great qualities I have always highly reſpected (as I am ſure his excellency will be my witneſs), or the miniſters in *England*, with whom I have nothing to do, or they with me; much leſs the *privy-council* here; who, as I am informed, did ſend an addreſs to his majeſty againſt Mr. *Wood's* coin; which if it be a miſtake, I deſire I may not be accuſed for a ſpreader of falſe news: but I confeſs, I am ſo great a ſtranger to affairs, that, for any thing I know, the whole body of the council may ſince have been changed: and although I obſerved ſome of the very ſame names in a late declaration againſt that coin, which I ſaw ſubſcribed to the proclamation againſt the *drapier*, yet poſſibly they may be different perſons: for they are utterly unknown to me, and are like to continue ſo.

In this controverſy, where the reaſoners on each ſide are divided by St. *George's* channel, his majeſty's prerogative perhaps would not have been men-

* *Lord* Carteret, *afterwards earl* Granville.

tioned,

tioned, if Mr. *Wood* and his advocates had not made it neceſſary, by giving out that the currency of his coin ſhould be enforced by a proclamation. The traders and common people of the kingdom were heartily willing to refuſe this coin; but the fear of a proclamation brought along with it moſt dreadful apprehenſions. It was therefore abſolutely neceſſary for the *drapier* to remove this difficulty; and accordingly in one of his former pamphlets he produced invincible arguments (wherever he picked them up), that the king's prerogative was not at all concerned in the matter; ſince the law had ſufficiently provided againſt any coin to be impoſed on the ſubject, except gold and ſilver; and that copper is not money, but, as it hath been properly called, *nummorum famulus.*

The three former letters from the *drapier* having not received any public cenſure, I look upon them to be without exception; and that the good people of the kingdom ought to read them often, in order to keep up that ſpirit raiſed againſt this deſtructive coin of Mr. *Wood*:

Wood: as for this laſt letter, againſt which a proclamation is iſſued; I ſhall only ſay, that I could wiſh it were ſtripped of all that can be any way exceptionable; which I would not think it below me to undertake, if my abilities were equal; but, being naturally ſomewhat ſlow of comprehenſion, no lawyer, and apt to believe the beſt of thoſe who profeſs good deſigns without any viſible motive either of profit or honour; I might pore for ever, without diſtinguiſhing the cockle from the corn.

That which I am told gives the greateſt offence in this laſt letter * is, where the *drapier* affirms, that, if a rebellion ſhould prove ſo ſucceſsful as to fix the *pretender* on the throne of *England*, he would venture ſo far to tranſgreſs the *Iriſh* ſtatute, which unites *Ireland* to *England* under one king, as to loſe every drop of his blood to hinder him from being king of *Ireland*.

I ſhall not preſume to vindicate any man, who openly declares he would tranſgreſs a ſtatute; and a ſtatute of

* Letter iv. ſee the note prefixed to this letter.

ſuch

ſuch importance: but, with the moſt humble ſubmiſſion and deſire of pardon for a verry innocent miſtake, I ſhould be apt to think, that the loyal intention of the writer might be at leaſt ſome ſmall extenuation of his crime; for in this I confeſs myſelf to think with the *drapier*.

I have not been hitherto told of any other objections againſt that pamphlet; but I ſuppoſe, they will all appear at the proſecution of the *drapier*. And I think, whoever in his own conſcience believes the ſaid pamphlet to be *wicked and malicious, ſeditious and ſcandalous, highly reflecting upon his majeſty and his miniſters*, &c. would do well to diſcover the author (as little a friend as I am to the trade of informers), although the reward of 300 *l.* had not been tack'd to the diſcovery. I own, it would be a great ſatisfaction to me to hear the arguments not only of judges, but of lawyers upon this caſe. Becauſe you cannot but know, there often happens occaſions, wherein it would be very convenient that the bulk of the people ſhould be informed how

how they ought to conduct themſelves; and therefore it hath been the wiſdom of the *Engliſh* parliaments to be very reſerved in limiting the preſs. When a bill is debating in either houſe of parliament there, nothing is more uſual, than to have the controverſy handled by pamphlets on both ſides, without the leaſt animadverſion upon the authors.

So here, in the caſe of Mr. *Wood* and his coin; ſince the two houſes gave their opinion by addreſſes, how dangerous the currency of that copper would be to *Ireland*, it was without all queſtion both lawful and convenient, that the bulk of the people ſhould be let more particularly into the nature of the danger they were in, and of the remedies that were in their own power, if they would have the ſenſe to apply them; and this cannot be more conveniently done, than by particular perſons, to whom God hath given zeal and underſtanding ſufficient for ſuch an undertaking. Thus it happened in the caſe of that deſtructive project for a bank in *Ireland*, which was brought into parliament a few years ago; and

and it was allowed, that the arguments and writings of ſome without doors contributed very much to reject it.

Now I ſhould be heartily glad, if ſome able lawyers would preſcribe the limits, how far a private man may venture in delivering his thoughts upon public matters: becauſe a true lover of his country may think it hard to be a quiet ſtander-by, and an indolent looker-on, while a public error prevails, by which a whole nation may be ruined. Every man who enjoys property, hath ſome ſhare in the publick; and therefore the care of the publick is in ſome degree every ſuch man's concern.

To come to particulars; I could wiſh to know, whether it be utterly unlawful in any writer ſo much as to mention the prerogative; at leaſt ſo far as to bring it into doubt upon any point whatſoever: I know it is often debated in *Weſtminſter-hall*; and Sir *Edward Coke*, as well as other eminent lawyers, do frequently handle that ſubject in their books.

Secondly, how far the prerogative extends

tends to force coin upon the ſubject, which is not ſterling; ſuch as lead, braſs, copper, mixt metal, ſhells, leather, or any other material; and fix upon it whatever denomination the crown ſhall think fit?

Thirdly, what is really and truly meant by that phraſe of a *depending kingdom*, as applied to *Ireland*, and wherein that *dependency* conſiſteth?

Laſtly, In what points relating to *liberty* and *property* the people of *Ireland* differ, or at leaſt *ought* to differ, from thoſe of *England*.

If theſe particulars were made ſo clear that none could miſtake them, it would be of infinite eaſe and uſe to the kingdom; and either prevent or ſilence all diſcontents.

My lord *Sommers*, the greateſt man I ever knew of your robe, and whoſe thoughts of *Ireland* differed as far as heaven and earth from thoſe of ſome others among his brethren here, lamented to me, that the prerogative of the crown or the privileges of parliament ſhould ever be liable to diſpute in any ſingle

gle branch of either; by which means, ſaid, the publick often ſuffered great onveniences, whereof he gave me eral inſtances. I produce the autho- r of ſo eminent a perſon to juſtify my ires, that ſome high points might be ared.

For want of ſuch known aſcertain- nt how far a writer may proceed in preſſing his good wiſhes for his coun-, a perſon of the moſt innocent in- ions may poſſibly, by the oratory and nments of lawyers, be charged with ny crimes, which from his very ſoul abhors; and conſequently may be ined in his fortunes, and left to rot ong thieves in ſome ſtinking jail, erely for miſtaking the purlieus of the w. I have known in my life-time a inter proſecuted and convicted for pub- hing a * pamphlet, where the au- or's intentions, I am confident, were as od and innocent as thoſe of a martyr his laſt prayers. I did very lately, as

* *Suppoſed to be*, A propo- for the univerſal uſe of *Iriſh* manufactures, *written by the author.*

I thought it my duty, preach to the people under my inſpection upon the ſubject of Mr. *Wood's* coin; and although I never heard that my ſermon gave the leaſt offence, as I am ſure none was intended, yet, if it were now printed and publiſhed, I cannot ſay, I would inſure it from the hands of the common hangman, or my own perſon from thoſe of a meſſenger.

I have heard the late chief juſtice *Holt* affirm, that in all criminal caſes the moſt favourable interpretation ſhould be put upon words that they can poſſibly bear. You meet the ſame poſition aſſerted in many trials for the greateſt crimes; though often very ill practiſed by the perpetual corruption of judges. And I remember at a trial in *Kent*, where Sir *George Rook* was indicted for calling a gentleman knave and villain, the lawyer for the *defendant* brought off his client, by alledging that the words were not injurious; for knave in the old and true ſignification imported only a ſervant; and villain in *Latin* is *villicus*, which is

no

no more than a man employed in country labour, or rather a baily.

If Sir *John Holt's* opinion were a ſtandard maxim for all times and circumſtances, any writer with a very ſmall meaſure of diſcretion might eaſily be ſafe; but I doubt in practice it hath been frequently controlled, at leaſt before his time: for I take it to be an old rule in law.

I have read, or heard, a paſſage of ſignor *Leti* an *Italian*; who, being in *London*, buſying himſelf with writing the hiſtory of *England*, told king *Charles* the ſecond, that he endeavoured as much as he could to avoid giving offence, but found it a thing impoſſible, although he ſhould have been as wiſe as *Solomon*. The king anſwered, that, if this were the caſe, he had better employ his time in writing proverbs, as *Solomon* did: but *Leti* lay under no public neceſſity of writing; neither would *England* have been one half-penny the better or the worſe, whether he writ or no.

This I mention, becauſe I know it will readily be objected, what have private men to do with the publick? what call had a *drapier* to turn politician, to meddle in matters of ſtate? would not his time have been better employed in looking to his ſhop; or his pen in writing proverbs, elegies, ballads, garlands, and wonders? he would then have been out of all danger of proclamations and proſecutions. Have we not able magiſtrates and counſellors hourly watching over the public-weal? All this may be true: and yet when the addreſſes from both houſes of parliament againſt Mr *Wood's* half-pence failed of ſucceſs, if ſome pen had not been employed to inform the people how far they might legally proceed in refuſing that coin, to detect the fraud, the artifice, and inſolence of the coiner, and to lay open the moſt ruinous conſequences to the whole kingdom, which would inevitably follow from the currency of the ſaid coin, I might appeal to many hundred thouſand people, whether any one of them would

would ever have had the courage or ſagacity to refuſe it.

If this copper ſhould begin to make its way among the common ignorant people, we are inevitably undone. It is they, who give us the greateſt apprehenſion, being eaſily frighted, and greedy to ſwallow miſ-informations: for, if every man were wiſe enough to underſtand his own intereſt, which is every man's principal ſtudy, there would be no need of pamphlets upon this occaſion: but as things ſtand, I have thought it abſolutely neceſſary, from my duty to God, my king, and my country, to inform the people, that the proclamation lately iſſued againſt the *drapier* doth not in the leaſt affect the caſe of Mr. *Wood* and his coin; but only refers to certain paragraphs in the *drapier's* laſt pamphlet * (not immediately relating to his ſubject, nor at all to the merits of the cauſe), which the government was pleaſed to diſlike; ſo that any man has the ſame liberty to reject, to write, and to declare againſt this coin, which

* The 4th letter.

he had before: neither is any man obliged to believe, that thoſe honourable perſons (whereof you are the firſt) who ſigned that memorable proclamation againſt the *drapier*, have at all changed their opinions with regard to Mr. *Wood*, or his coin.

Therefore, concluding myſelf to be thus far upon a ſafe and ſure foot, I ſhall continue upon any proper occaſion, as God enables me, to revive and preſerve that ſpirit raiſed in the nation (whether the real author were a real *drapier* or no is little to the purpoſe) againſt this horrid deſign of Mr. *Wood*; at the ſame time carefully watching every ſtroke of my pen, and venturing only to incur the public cenſure of the world as a writer, not of my lord chief juſtice *Whitſhed* as a criminal. Whenever an order ſhall come out by authority, forbidding all men upon the higheſt penalties to offer any thing in writing or diſcourſe againſt Mr. *Wood's* halfpence, I ſhall certainly ſubmit. However, if that ſhould happen, I am determined to be ſomewhat more than th<

laſt man in the kingdom to receive them; becauſe I will never receive them at all: for although I know how to be ſilent, I have not yet learned to pay active obedience againſt my conſcience, and the public ſafety.

I deſire to put a caſe, which I think the *drapier* in ſome of his books hath put before me; although not ſo fully as it requires.

You know the copper half-pence in *England* are coined by the publick; and every piece worth pretty near the value of the copper. Now ſuppoſe, that, inſtead of the public coinage, a patent had been granted to ſome private, obſcure perſon, for coining a proportionable quantity of copper in that kingdom, to what Mr. *Wood* is preparing in this; and all of it at leaſt five times below the intrinſic value: the current money of *England* is reckoned to be twenty millions; and ours under * five hundred thouſand pounds: by this computation, as Mr. *Wood* hath power to give us 108,000 pounds; ſo the patentee in

* *It is ſince ſunk to* 200,000 *l.*

England by the ſame proportion might circulate four millions three hundred and twenty thouſand pounds; beſides as much more by ſtealth and counterfeits. I deſire to know from you, whether the parliament might not have addreſſed upon ſuch an occaſion; what ſucceſs they probably would have had; and how many *drapiers* would have riſen to peſter the world with pamphlets? yet that kingdom would not be ſo great a ſufferer as ours in the like caſe; becauſe their caſh would not be conveyed into foreign countries, but lie hid in the cheſts of cautious thrifty men until better times. Then I deſire, for the ſatisfaction of the publick, that you will pleaſe to inform me, why this country is treated in ſo very different a manner in a point of ſuch high importance; whether it be on account of *Poining's* act; of ſubordination; dependence; or any other term of art, which I ſhall not conteſt, but am too dull to underſtand.

I am very ſenſible, that the good or ill ſucceſs of Mr. *Wood* will affect you leſs

leſs than any perſon of conſequence in the kingdom; becauſe I hear you are ſo prudent as to make all your purchaſes in *England*; and truly ſo would I, if I had money, although I were to pay a hundred years purchaſe; becauſe I ſhould be glad to poſſeſs a freehold, that could not be taken from me by any law to which I did not give my own conſent; and where I ſhould never be in danger of receiving my rents in mixt copper at the loſs of ſixteen ſhillings in the pound. You can live in eaſe and plenty at *Pepper-hara* in *Surrey*; and therefore I thought it extremely generous and public-ſpirited in you to be of the kingdom's ſide in this diſpute, by ſhewing without reſerve your diſapprobation of Mr. *Wood's* deſign; at leaſt if you have been ſo frank to others as you were to me; which indeed I could not but wonder at, conſidering how much we differ in other points; and therefore I could get but few believers, when I attempted to juſtify you in this article from your own words.

I would humbly offer another thought, which

which I do not remember to have fallen under the *drapier's* obſervation. If theſe half-pence ſhould once gain admittance, it is agreed, that in no long ſpace of time, what by the clandeſtine practices of the coiner, what by his own counterfeits, and thoſe of others either from abroad or at home, his limited quantity would be tripled upon us, until there would not be a grain of gold or ſilver viſible in the nation. This in my opinion would lay a heavy charge upon the crown, by creating a neceſſity of tranſmitting money from *England* to pay the ſalaries at leaſt of the principal civil officers: for I do not conceive how a judge (for inſtance) could ſupport his dignity with a thouſand pounds a year in *Wood's* coin; which would not intrinſically be worth near two hundred. To argue that theſe half-pence, if no other coin were current, would anſwer the general ends of commerce among ourſelves, is a great miſtake; and the *drapier* hath made that matter too clear to admit an anſwer, by ſhewing us what every owner of land muſt be forced

forced to do with the products of it in ſuch a diſtreſs. You may read his remarks at large in his ſecond or third letter; to which I refer you.

Before I conclude, I cannot but obſerve, that for ſeveral months paſt there have more papers been written in this town, ſuch as they are, all upon the beſt public principle, the love of our country, than perhaps hath been known in any other nation in ſo ſhort a time: I ſpeak in general from the *drapier* down to the maker of *ballads*; and all without any regard to the common motives of writers; which are profit, favour, and reputation. As to profit, I am aſſured by perſons of credit, that the beſt ballad upon Mr. *Wood* will not yield above a groat to the author; and the unfortunate adventurer *Harding** declares he never made the *drapier* any preſent, except one pair of ſciſſars. As to favour, whoever thinks to make his court by oppoſing Mr. *Wood* is not very deep in politicks. And as to reputation, certainly no man of worth and

* The printer of the *drapier's* letters.

learning

learning would employ his pen upon ſo tranſitory a ſubject, and in ſo obſcure a corner of the world, to diſtinguiſh himſelf as an author. So that I look upon myſelf, the *drapier*, and my numerous brethren, to be all true patriots in our ſeveral degrees.

All that the publick can expect for the future is, only to be ſometimes warned to beware of Mr. *Wood's* half-pence; and to be referred for conviction to the *drapier's* reaſons. For a man of the moſt ſuperior underſtanding will find it impoſſible to make the beſt uſe of it, while he writes in conſtraint; perpetually ſoftening, correcting, or blotting out expreſſions, for fear of bringing his printer, or himſelf, under a proſecution from my lord chief juſtice *Whitſhed*. It calls to my remembrance the madman in don *Quixote*, who, being ſoundly beaten by a weaver for letting a ſtone (which he always carried on his ſhoulder) fall upon a ſpaniel, apprehended that every cur he met was of the ſame ſpecies.

For theſe reaſons I am convinced, that what I have now written will appear low

low and inſipid; but, if it contributes in the leaſt to preſerve that union among us for oppoſing this fatal project of Mr. *Wood*, my pains will not be altogether loſt.

I ſent theſe papers to an eminent lawyer (and yet a man of virtue and learning into the bargain), who, after many alterations, returned them back with aſſuring me that they are perfectly innocent; without the leaſt mixture of treaſon, rebellion, ſedition, malice, diſaffection, reflexion, or wicked inſinuation whatſoever.

If the *bell-man* of each pariſh, as he goes his circuit, would cry out every night, *Paſt twelve o'clock*; *Beware of* Wood's *half-pence*; it would probably cut off the occaſion for publiſhing any more pamphlets; provided that in country towns it were done upon market-days. For my own part, as ſoon as it ſhall be determined that it is not againſt law, I will begin the experiment in the liberty of St. *Patrick's*; and hope my example may be followed in the whole city. But if authority ſhall think fit

fit to forbid all writings or diſcourſes upon this ſubject, except ſuch as are in favour of Mr. *Wood*, I will obey as it becomes me; only, when I am in danger of burſting, I will go and whiſper among the reeds, not any reflexion upon the wiſdom of my countrymen; but only theſe few words, *BEWARE OF WOOD'S HALF-PENCE.*

I am,

with due reſpect,

your moſt obedient,

humble ſervant,

Deanry-houſe,
Oct. 26, 1724.

J. S.

AN

AN HUMBLE

ADDRESS*

TO

Both Houſes of Parliament.

By M. B. *Drapier.*

Multa gemens plagaſque ſuperbi
Victoris.——

I HAVE been told, that *petitions* and *addreſſes*, to either king or parliament, are the right of every ſubject; provided they conſiſt with that reſpect, which is due to princes and great aſſemblies. Neither do I remember, that the modeſt *propoſals* or *opinions* of pri-

* This addreſs is without a date, but it appears to have been written during the firſt ſeſſion of parliament in lord *Carteret's* government, though it did not appear till it was inſerted with the preceding letter in the *Dublin* edition of 1735.

Among other inaccuracies in the *Iriſh* edition, two dates are aſſigned to the following tract; in the advertiſement prefixed it is ſaid to have been written the firſt ſeſſion of *Carteret's* government, and in the title page to be written before his arrival.

vat

vate men have been ill-received, when they have not been delivered in the ſtyle of *advice*; which is a preſumption far from my thoughts. However, if *propoſals* ſhould be looked upon as too aſſuming; yet I hope, every man may be ſuffered to declare his own and the nation's *wiſhes*. For inſtance; I may be allowed to *wiſh*, that ſome further laws were enacted for the advancement of *trade*, for the improvement of *agriculture*, now ſtrangely neglected, againſt the maxims of all wiſe nations: for ſupplying the manifeſt defects in the acts concerning the plantation of trees: for ſetting the poor to work; and many others.

Upon this principle I may venture to affirm, it is the hearty *wiſh* of the whole nation, very few excepted, that the parliament in this ſeſſion would *begin* by ſtrictly examining into the deteſtable fraud of one *William Wood*, now or late of *London*, hardware-man; who *illegally* and *clandeſtinely*, as appears by your own votes and addreſſes, procured a patent in *England* for coining half-pence

that kingdom to be current here.
s, I ſay, is the *wiſh* of the whole
on, *very few excepted*; and upon
ount of thoſe *few* is more ſtrongly
juſtly the *wiſh* of the reſt: thoſe *few*
ſiſting either of *Wood's* confederates,
e obſcure tradeſmen, or certain bold
DERTAKERS, of weak judgment
ſtrong ambition, who think to find
r accounts in the ruin of the nation
ſecuring or advancing themſelves.
l, becauſe ſuch men proceed upon a
:m of politicks to which I would
hope you will be always utter
igers, I ſhall humbly lay it before

e pleaſed to ſuppoſe me in a ſta-
of fifteen hundred pounds a year,
y and perquiſites; and likewiſe
eſſed of 8co *l.* a year real eſtate.
n ſuppoſe a deſtructive project to be
foot; ſuch for inſtance as this of
d; which, if it ſucceed in all the
equences naturally to be expected
1 it, muſt ſink the rents and wealth
he kingdom one half, (although I am
ident, it would have done ſo five

ſixths). Suppoſe, I conceive that the *countenancing*, or privately *ſupporting* this project, *will pleaſe thoſe by whom I expect to be preſerved, or higher exalted:* nothing then remains, but to compute and balance my gain and my loſs, and ſum up the whole. I ſuppoſe that I ſhall keep my employment ten years, not to mention the fair chance of a better. This at 1500 *l.* a year amounts in ten years to 15000 *l.* My eſtate by the ſucceſs of the ſaid project ſinks 400 *l.* a year; which, at twenty years purchaſe, is but 8000 *l.* ſo that I am a clear gainer of 7000 *l.* upon the balance. And during all that period I am poſſeſſed of *power* and *credit*, can gratify my *favourites*, and take vengeance on my *enemies*. And, if the project miſcarry, my private *merit* is ſtill entire. This *arithmetick*, as horrible as it appears, I *knowingly* affirm to have been practiſed and applied, in conjunctures whereon depended the *ruin* or *ſafety* of a nation: although probably the charity and virtue of a *ſenate* will hardly be induced to believe, that there can be ſuch monſters among

among mankind. And yet the wiſe lord *Bacon* mentions a ſort of people (I doubt the race is not yet extinct), who would *ſet a houſe on fire* for the convenience of roaſting their own eggs at the flame.

But whoever is old enough to remember, and hath turned his thoughts to obſerve the courſe of public affairs in this kingdom from the time of the *Revolution*, muſt acknowledge, that the higheſt points of intereſt and liberty have been often ſacrificed to the avarice and ambition of particular perſons, upon the very principles and *arithmetick* that I have ſuppoſed: the only wonder is, how theſe *artiſts* were able to prevail upon numbers, and influence even public aſſemblies, to become inſtruments for effecting their execrable deſigns.

It is, I think, in all conſcience, *latitude* enough for *vice*, if a man in *ſtation* be allowed to act injuſtice upon the *uſual* principles *of getting a bribe, wreaking his malice, ſerving his party, or conſulting his preferment*, while his wickedneſs terminates in the ruin only of *par-*

ticular perſons. But to deliver up our *whole* country, and every living ſoul who inhabits it, to *certain* deſtruction, hath not, as I remember, been permitted by the moſt favourable *caſuiſts* on the ſide of *corruption*. It were far better, that all who have had the *misfortune* to be born in this kingdom ſhould be rendered incapable of holding *any* employment whatſoever above the degree of a *conſtable* (according to the ſcheme and intention of a * *great miniſter gone to his own place*), than to live under the daily apprehenſion of a few *falſe brethren* among ourſelves. Becauſe, in the former caſe, we ſhould be wholly free from the danger of being betrayed; ſince none could *then* have impudence enough to *pretend* any public good.

It is true, that in this deſperate affair of the new *half-pence* I have not heard of any man above my own degree of a ſhop-keeper to have been hitherto ſo bold, as in *direct terms* to vindicate the fatal project; although I have been told of ſome very *mollifying expreſſions* which

* *The late Earl of* Sunderland.

were

were uſed, and very *gentle expedients* propoſed and handed about, when it firſt came under debate: but, ſince the eyes of the people have been ſo far opened, that the moſt ignorant can plainly ſee their own ruin in the ſucceſs of *Wood's* attempt, theſe *grand compounders* have been more cautious.

But that the ſame ſpirit ſtill ſubſiſts, hath manifeſtly appeared (among other inſtances of great compliance) from *certain circumſtances*, that have attended ſome *late proceedings* * in a *court of judicature*. There is not any common-place more frequently inſiſted on by thoſe who treat of our conſtitution, than the great happineſs and excellency of trials by *juries*; yet, if this bleſſed part of our law be eludible at pleaſure, by the force of *power*, *frowns*, and *artifice*, we ſhall have little reaſon to boaſt of our advantage in this particular over other ſtates or kingdoms in *Europe*. And ſurely theſe *high* proceedings, exerciſed in a point

* By chief juſtice *Whitſhed*, whoſe method with a jury may be ſeen in the note which follows the *Propoſal for the uſe of Iriſh manufactures*, and that at the end of *Seaſonable advice to a grand-jury*.

that ſo nearly concerned the *life-blood* of the people, their *neceſſary ſubſiſtence*, their very *food* and *raiment*, and even the *public peace*, will not allow any favourable *appearance*; becauſe it was obvious, that ſo much *ſuperabundant zeal* could have no other deſign, or produce any other effect, than to *damp* that *ſpirit* raiſed in the nation againſt this accurſed ſcheme of *William Wood* and his *abettors*; to which *ſpirit* alone we owe, and for ever muſt owe, our being *hitherto* preſerved, and our hopes of being preſerved for the future, if it can be kept up, and ſtrongly countenanced by *your* wiſe aſſemblies. I wiſh I could account for ſuch a demeanor upon a more *charitable* foundation than that of putting our intereſt in over-balance with the ruin of our country.

I remember ſome months ago, when this affair was freſh in diſcourſe, a perſon nearly allied to SOMEBODY, or (as the hawkers called him) NOBODY, who was thought *deeply concerned*, went about very diligently among his acquaintance, to ſhew the bad

conſequences

conſequences that might follow from any public reſentment to the diſadvantage of his *ally*, Mr. *Wood*; principally alledging the danger of all employments being diſpoſed of from *England*. One of theſe *emiſſaries* came to me, and urged the ſame *topick*: I anſwered naturally, that I knew there was no office of *any* kind, which a man from *England* might not have, if he thought it worth his aſking; and that I looked upon all who had the diſadvantage of being born here, as only in the conditions of *leaſers* and *gleaners*. Neither could I forbear mentioning the known fable of the countryman, who entreated his *aſs* to fly, for fear of being taken by the *enemy*; but the aſs refuſed to give himſelf that trouble, and upon a very wiſe reaſon; becauſe he could not poſſibly change his preſent maſter for a *worſe*: the *enemy* could not make him *fare harder*, *beat him more cruelly*, or load him with *heavier burthens*.

Upon theſe and many other conſiderations, I may affirm it to be the *wiſh* of the whole nation, that the power and

privileges of *juries* were declared, aſcertained, and confirmed by the legiſlature; and that whoever hath been manifeſtly known to violate them, might be *ſtigmatized* by public *cenſure*; not from any hope that ſuch a *cenſure* will amend their *practices*, or hurt their *intereſt* (for it may probably *operate quite contrary in both*), but that the nation may know their *enemies* from their *friends*.

I ſay not this with any regard or view to myſelf; for I write in great ſecurity; and am reſolved that none ſhall *merit* at my expence, further than by ſhewing their *zeal* to *diſcover*, *proſecute*, and *condemn me*, for endeavouring to do my duty in ſerving my country: and yet I am conſcious to myſelf, that I never had the leaſt intention to *reflect on his majeſty's miniſters*, nor on any other perſon, except *William Wood*, whom I neither did, nor do *yet* conceive to be of *that number*. However, ſome would have it, that *I went too far*; but I ſuppoſe they will now allow themſelves miſtaken. I am ſure I might eaſily have *gone further*, and I think I could

could not eaſily have *fared worſe*. And therefore I was no further affected with *their proclamation*, and ſubſequent proceedings, than a good clergyman is with the *ſins* of the people. And as to the poor *printer*, he is now gone to appear before a higher and before a *righteous* tribunal.

As my intention is only to lay before your great aſſemblies the general wiſhes of the nation; and as I have already declared it our principal *wiſh*, that your *firſt* proceeding would be to examine into the pernicious fraud of *William Wood*; ſo I muſt add, as the univerſal opinion, that all *ſchemes* of *commutation*, *compoſition*, and the like *expedients*, either *avowed* or *implied*, will be of the moſt pernicious conſequences to the publick; againſt the dignity of a *free* kingdom; and prove an encouragement to future *adventurers* in the ſame deſtructive projects. For it is a maxim, which no man at preſent diſputes, that even a *connivance* to admit one thouſand pounds in theſe *half-pence*, will produce, in time, the ſame ruinous effects, as if

we

we openly conſented to admit a million. It were therefore infinitely more ſafe and eligible to leave things in the doubtful, melancholy ſtate they are at preſent (which however God forbid), and truſt entirely to the general averſion of our people againſt this coin, uſing all honeſt endeavours to preſerve, continue, and increaſe that averſion, than ſubmit to apply thoſe *palliatives*, which *weak*, *perfidious*, or *abject politicians* are upon all *occaſions*, and in all *diſeaſes*, ſo ready to *adminiſter*.

In the ſmall compaſs of my reading (which however hath been more extenſive than is uſual to men of my inferior calling), I have obſerved that *grievances* have always preceded *ſupplies*; and, if ever *grievances* had a title to ſuch a preeminence, it muſt be this of *Wood*; becauſe it is not only the greateſt *grievance* that any country could ſuffer, but a *grievance* of ſuch a kind that, if it ſhould take effect, would make it impoſſible for us to give any *ſupplies* at all, except in *adulterate copper*; unleſs a tax were laid for paying the civil and military

lists,

liſts and the *large* penſions, with real commodities inſtead of money; which however might be liable to ſome few objections as well as difficulties: for, although the *common ſoldiers* might be content with *beef* and *mutton*, and *wool*, and *malt*, and *leather*; yet I am in ſome doubt as to the *generals*, the *colonels*, the *numerous penſioners*, the *civil officers* and others, who all live in *England* upon *Iriſh pay*, as well as thoſe *few* who reſide among us only becauſe they cannot help it.

There is one particular, which although I have mentioned more than once in ſome of my former papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it; becauſe I do not remember to have read or heard of the like in the hiſtory of any age or country; neither do I ever reflect upon it without the utmoſt *aſtoniſhment*.

After the unanimous addreſſes to his ſacred majeſty againſt this patent of *Wood* from both houſes of parliament, which are the *three eſtates* of the kingdom; and likewiſe an addreſs from the

privy

privy council, to whom under the chief governors the whole adminiſtration is intruſted; the matter is referred to a committee of council in *London*. *Wood* and his adherents are heard on one ſide; and a few *volunteers*, without any truſt or direction from hence, on the other. The queſtion (as I remember) chiefly turned upon the want of *half-pence* in *Ireland*: witneſſes are called on the behalf of *Wood* (of what credit I have formerly ſhewn*): upon the iſſue, the patent is found good and legal; all his majeſty's officers here (not excepting the *military*) commanded to be aiding and aſſiſting to make it effectual; the addreſſes of both houſes of parliament, of the privy council, and of the city of *Dublin*, the declarations of moſt counties and corporations through the kingdom, are altogether laid aſide, as of no weight, conſequence, or conſideration whatſoever; and the whole kingdom of *Ireland nonſuited* in default of appearance; as if it were a private cauſe between *John Dow*, plantiff, and *William Row*, defendant. With

* In letter iii.

With great reſpect to thoſe honourable perſons, the committee of council in *London*, I have not underſtood them to be our *governors*, *counſellors*, or *judges*. Neither did our caſe turn at all upon the queſtion, whether *Ireland* wanted *half-pence*. For there is no doubt, but we do want both half-pence, gold, and ſilver; and we have *numberleſs* other *wants*, and ſome that we are not ſo much as allowed to name, although they are peculiar to this nation: to which no other is ſubject, whom God hath bleſſed with *religion* and *laws*, or any degree of *ſoil* and *ſunſhine*: but for what *demerits* on our ſide I am altogether in the dark.

But I do not remember, that our want of half-pence was either affirmed or denied in any of our addreſſes or declarations againſt thoſe of *Wood*. We alledged the *fraudulent* obtaining and executing his patent, the baſeneſs of his metal, and the prodigious ſum to be coined, which might be increaſed by ſtealth, from foreign importation, and his own counterfeits, as well as thoſe at home;

home; whereby we muſt infallibly loſe all our little gold and ſilver, and all our poor remainder of a very *limited* and *diſcouraged* trade. We urged, that the patent was paſſed without the leaſt reference hither; and without mention of any *ſecurity* given by *Wood* to receive his own half-pence upon demand; both which are contrary to all former proceedings in the like caſes. Theſe and many other arguments we offered; but ſtill the patent went on, and at this day our ruin would have been half compleated, if God in his mercy had not raiſed an univerſal deteſtation of theſe half-pence in the whole kingdom, with a firm reſolution never to receive them, ſince we are not under obligations to do ſo by any *law* either *human* or *divine*.

But, in the name of *God* and of all *juſtice* and *piety*, when the king's majeſty was pleaſed that this patent ſhould paſs, is it not to be underſtood, that he *conceived*, *believed*, and intended it as a gracious act, for the good and benefit of his ſubjects, for the advantage of a great

great and fruitful kingdom; of the moſt *loyal* kingdom upon earth, where no *hand* or *voice* was ever lifted up againſt him; a kingdom, where the paſſage is not of three hours from *Britain*, and a kingdom where *papiſts* have leſs *power* and leſs *land* than in *England?* can it be denied, or doubted, that his majeſty's miniſters underſtood and propoſed the ſame end, *the good of this nation*, when they adviſed the paſſing this patent? can the *perſon* of *Wood* be otherwiſe regarded, than as the *inſtrument*, the *mechanick*, the *head-workman*, to prepare his furnace, his fuel, his metal, and his ſtamps? if I employ a *ſhoe-boy*, is it in view to his advantage, or to my own convenience? I mention the *perſon* of *William Wood* alone; becauſe *no other* appears, and we are not to reaſon upon *ſurmiſes*; neither would it avail, if they had a real foundation.

Allowing therefore (for we cannot do leſs) that this patent for the coining of half-pence was wholly intended by a gracious king, and a *wiſe public-ſpirited* miniſtry, for the advantage of *Ire-*

land; yet when the whole kingdom to a man, for whoſe good the patent was deſigned, do upon matureſt conſideration univerſally join in openly declaring, proteſting, addreſſing, petitioning againſt theſe half-pence, as the moſt ruinous project that ever was ſet on foot to complete the ſlavery and deſtruction of a poor innocent country: *is it*, *was it*, *can it*, or *will it* ever be a queſtion, not whether ſuch a kingdom or *William Wood*, ſhould be a gainer; but whether ſuch a kingdom ſhould be *wholly undone*, *deſtroyed*, *ſunk*, *depopulated*, made a ſcene of *miſery* and *deſolation*, for the ſake of *William Wood*? God of his infinite mercy avert this dreadful judgement; and it is our univerſal *wiſh*, that God would put it into *your* hearts to be his inſtruments for ſo good a work.

For my own part, who am but *one* man, of obſcure condition, I do ſolemnly declare, in the preſence of Almighty God, that I will ſuffer the moſt ignominious and torturing death rather than ſubmit to receive this *accurſed coin*, or *any other* that ſhall be liable to the ſame

objections, until they ſhall be forced upon me by a law of *my own country*; and, if that ſhall ever happen, I will tranſport myſelf into ſome *foreign* land, and eat the *bread of poverty* among a *free* people.

Am I legally puniſhable for theſe expreſſions? ſhall *another proclamation* iſſue againſt me, becauſe I preſume to take my country's part againſt *William Wood*, where her final deſtruction is intended? But whenever you ſhall pleaſe to impoſe *ſilence* upon me, I will ſubmit; becauſe I look upon your *unanimous voice* to be the *voice* of the nation; and this I have been taught, and do believe, to be in ſome manner the *voice* of *God*.

The great ignominy of a whole kingdom lying ſo long at *mercy* under ſo *vile* an adverſary, is ſuch a deplorable aggravation, that the utmoſt expreſſions of ſhame and rage are too low to ſet it forth: and therefore I ſhall leave it to receive ſuch a reſentment, as is worthy of a *parliament*.

It is likewiſe our univerſal *wiſh*, that his majeſty ſhould grant liberty to coin halfpence in this kingdom for our own uſe, under ſuch reſtriction as a parliament *here* ſhall adviſe: ſince the power of coining even gold and ſilver is poſſeſſed by every *petty* prince abroad; and was always practiſed by *Scotland* to the very time of the *union*; yet ſurely *Scotland*, as to ſoil, climate, and extent, is not in itſelf a fourth part the value of *Ireland* (for biſhop *Burnet* ſays, it is not above the fortieth part in value to the reſt of *Britain)*; and with reſpect to the profit that *England* gains from hence, not the forty thouſandth part. Although I muſt confeſs, that a *mote* in the *eye*, or a *thorn* in the *ſide*, is more dangerous and painful than a *beam* or a *ſpike* at a *diſtance*.

The hiſtories of *England*, and of moſt other countries, abound in relating the miſerable, and ſometimes the moſt tragical effects from the abuſes of *coin* by debaſing the metal, by leſſening or enhancing the value upon *occaſions*, to the public loſs; of which we have an example within our own memory in *England*,

nd, and another very lately in *France*. t is the *tendereſt* point of government, af- ecting every individual in the higheſt de- ree. When the value of money is *arbi- rary* or *unſettled*, no man can well be ſaid o have any *property* at all; nor is any vound ſo ſuddenly felt, ſo hardly cured, r that leaves ſuch deep and laſting ſcars ehind it.

I conceive this poor unhappy iſland o have a title to ſome *indulgence* from *England*; not only upon the ſcore of *hriſtianity*, *natural equity*, and the *ge- eral rights of mankind*, but chiefly on ccount of that *immenſe profit* they re- eive from us; without which that ingdom would make a very *different* gure in *Europe*, from what it doth at reſent.

The rents of land in *Ireland*, ſince ey have been *of late* ſo enormouſly iſed and ſcrewed up, may be comput- d to about two millions; whereof one hird part at leaſt is directly tranſmitted o thoſe who are perpetual abſentees in *England*; as I find by a computation

made with the aſſiſtance of ſeveral ſkilful gentlemen.

The other articles, by which we are altogether loſers and *England* a gainer, we found to amount to almoſt as much more.

I will only ſet down as many heads of them as I can remember, and leave them to the conſideration of thoſe who underſtand accounts better than I pretend to do.

The *occaſional* abſentees, for buſineſs, health, or diverſion.

Three fourths of the revenue of the chief governor, during his abſence; which is uſually four fifths of his government.

The whole revenue of the *poſt-office.*

The *numerous penſions* paid to perſons in *England.*

The pay of the chief officers of the army abſent in *England*, which is a great ſum.

Four commiſſioners of the revenue, always abſent.

Civil employments very numerous, and of great income.

The

The vaſt charge of appeals to the houſe of lords, and to the court of delegates.

Students at the inns of court, and the two univerſities.

Eighty thouſand pounds ſent yearly to *England* for coals; whereof the prime coſt is nothing, and therefore the profit wholly theirs.

One hundred thouſand pounds paid ſeveral years paſt for corn ſent over hither from *England*; the effect of our own *great wiſdom* in diſcouraging *agriculture*.

The *kind* liberty granted us of wearing *Indian* ſtuffs, and callicoes, to gratify the vanity and folly of our women; which, beſides the profit to *England* *, is an inconceivable loſs to us, forcing the weavers to beg in our ſtreets, or tranſport themſelves to foreign countries.

The prodigious loſs to us, and gain to *England*, by ſelling them *all* our *wool*

* From whence theſe commodities were exported to *Ireland*, the *Eaſt-India* company only having a right to import them from the country in which they are manufactured.

at their own rates; whereof the manufacture exceeds above ten times the prime coſt: *a proceeding without example in the Chriſtian or Heathen world.*

Our own *wool* returned upon us in *Engliſh* manufactures to our infinite ſhame and damage, and the great advantage of *England.*

The full profit of all our *mines* accruing to *England*; an effect of great negligence and ſtupidity.

An affectation among us of liking all kind of goods made in *England**.

Theſe and many other articles, which I cannot recollect at preſent, are agreed by judicious men to amount to near ſeven hundred thouſand pounds *per ann.* clear profit to *England.* And upon the whole, let any man look into thoſe authors who write upon the ſubject of *commerce*, he ſhall find, that there is not one ſingle article in the eſſentials or circumſtances of trade, whereby a country can be a *loſer*, which we do not poſſeſs in the *higheſt perfection*; ſome-

* *Many of the above articles have been ſince particularly computed by another writer, to whoſe treatiſe the reader is referred.*

what

what in every particular, that bears a kind of *analogy* to *William Wood*; and now the *branches* are all cut off, he ſtands ready with his *axe* at the *root*.

Upon this ſubject of *perpetual abſentees* I have ſpent ſome time in very inſignificant reflexions; and, conſidering the uſual motives of human actions, which are *pleaſure*, *profit*, and *ambition*, I cannot yet comprehend how thoſe perſons find their account in *any* of the *three*. I ſpeak not of thoſe *Engliſh* peers or gentlemen, who, beſide their eſtates at home, have poſſeſſions here, for in that caſe the matter is deſperate; but I mean thoſe lords, and wealthy knights, or ſquires, whoſe birth and partly their education and *all* their fortune (except ſome trifle, and that in a very few inſtances) are in this kingdom. I knew many of them well enough during ſeveral years, when I reſided in *England*; and truly I could not diſcover that the *figure* they made was by any means a ſubject for *envy*; at leaſt it gave me *two very different paſſions*. For excepting the advantage of goin

now and then to an *opera*, or ſometimes appearing *behind a croud* at court, or adding to the ring of *coaches* in *Hyde-Park*, or loſing their money at the *chocolate-houſe*, or getting news, votes, and minutes about five days before us in *Dublin*; I ſay, beſides theſe and a few other privileges of *leſs* importance, their temptations to live in *London* were beyond my knowledge or conception. And I uſed to wonder, how a man of birth and ſpirit could endure to be wholly inſignificant and obſcure in a *foreign* country, when he might live with luſtre in *his own*; and even at leſs than half that expence, which he *ſtrains* himſelf to make without obtaining any *one* end, except that which happened to the *frog*, when he would needs contend for ſize with the *ox*. I have been told by ſcholars, that *Cæſar* ſaid he would rather be the *firſt* man in I know not what village, than the *ſecond* in *Rome*. This perhaps was a thought only fit for *Cæſar*; but to be *preceded* by *thouſands* and *neglected* by *millions*; to be wholly without *power*, *figure*, *in-*

fluence, *honour*, *credit*, or *diſtinction*, is not in my poor opinion a very *amiable ſituation* of life to a perſon of *title* or *wealth*, who can ſo cheaply and eaſily *ſhine* in his native country.

But, beſides the depopulating of the kingdom, the leaving ſo many parts of it wild and uncultivated, the ruin of ſo many country ſeats and plantations, the cutting down all the woods to ſupply expences in *England*; the abſence of ſo many noble and wealthy perſons hath been the cauſe of *another fatal conſequence*, which few perhaps have been aware of. For if that *very conſiderable* number of lords, who poſſeſs the ampleſt fortunes here, had been content to *live at home*, and attend the affairs of their own country in *parliament*; the weight, reputation, and dignity thereby added to that noble houſe would, in all human probability, have prevented *certain proceedings*, which are now *ever to be lamented*, becauſe they *never can be remedied:* and we might have then *decided our own properties among ourſelves*, without being forced to tra-

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vel five hundred miles by ſea and land to *another kingdom* for juſtice, to our infinite expence, vexation, and trouble; which is a mark of *ſervitude* without example from the practice of any age or nation in the world.

I have ſometimes wondered, upon what motives the peerage of *England* were ſo deſirous to determine *our* controverſies; becauſe I have been aſſured, and *partly know*, that the frequent *appeals* from hence have been very *irkſome* to that illuſtrious body: and whoever hath frequented the *painted chamber* and *courts of requeſts* muſt have obſerved, that they are never ſo *nobly* filled, as when an *Iriſh* appeal is under debate.

The peers of *Scotland*, who are very numerous, were content to reſide in their caſtles and houſes in that *bleak and barren climate*; and, although ſome of them made frequent journies to *London*, yet I do not remember any of their greateſt families, till very lately, to have made *England* their conſtant habitation before the *union*: or, if they did, I am ſure it was generally *to their own advantage*; and whatever

whatever they got, was employed to cultivate and increaſe their own eſtates; and by that means enrich themſelves and their country.

As to the great number of rich *abſentees* under the degree of *peers*; what particular ill effects their abſence may have upon this kingdom, beſides thoſe already mentioned, may perhaps be too tender a point for me to touch. But whether thoſe who live in another kingdom upon great eſtates here, and have loſt all regard to their own country, further than upon account of the *revenues they receive from it*; I ſay, whether ſuch perſons may not be prevailed on to recommend others to *vacant ſeats*, who have no intereſt here except a precarious employment, and conſequently can have no views, but to preſerve what they have got, or to be higher advanced: this, I am ſure, is a very melancholy queſtion, *if it be a queſtion at all.*

But, beſides the prodigious profit which *England* receives by the tranſmittal thither of two thirds of the revenues of this whole kingdom, it hath another

another mighty advantage by making our country a *receptacle*, wherein to *diſburthen* themſelves of their *ſupernumerary* pretenders to offices; perſons of ſecond-rate merit in their own country, who, *like birds of paſſage*, moſt of them thrive and fatten here, and fly off when their *credit* and *employments* are at an end. So that *Ireland* may juſtly ſay what *Luther* ſaid of himſelf; *POOR* Ireland *maketh many rich.*

If amidſt all our difficulties I ſhould venture to aſſert, that we have one great advantage, provided we could improve it as we ought, I believe moſt of my readers would be long in conjecturing, what *poſſible* advantage could ever fall to our ſhare. However, it is certain, that all the *regular ſeeds* of *party* and *faction* among us are entirely rooted out; and if any new ones ſhall ſpring up, they muſt be of *equivocal* generation, without any ſeed at all; and will juſtly be imputed to a degree of ſtupidity beyond even what we have been ever charged with upon the ſcore of our *birth-place* and *climate.*

The

The *parties* in this kingdom (including thoſe of modern date) are, firſt, of thoſe who have been charged or ſuſpected to *favour the pretender*; and thoſe who were *zealous oppoſers of him*. Secondly, of thoſe who were *for* and *againſt a toleration of* diſſenters *by law*. Thirdly, of *high* and *low church*; or (to ſpeak in the *cant* of the times) of *whig* and *tory*. And fourthly, of *court* and *country*. If there be any more, they are beyond my obſervation or politicks: for as to *ſubaltern* or *occaſional-parties*, they have all been *derivations* from the ſame originals.

Now it is manifeſt, that all theſe incitements to *faction*, *party*, and *diviſion* are wholly removed from among us. For as to the *pretender*, his cauſe is both *deſperate* and *obſolete*: there are very few now alive, who were *men* in his father's time, and in that prince's intereſt; and in all others the obligation of conſcience hath no place*: even the *papiſts* in general of any ſubſtance or eſtates, and their *prieſts* almoſt univerſally, are

* The obligation ariſing from their having ſworn allegiance.

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what we call *whigs*, in the ſenſe which by that word is generally underſtood. They feel the *ſmart*, and ſee the *ſcars* of their former *wounds*; and very well know, that they muſt be made a *ſacrifice* to the leaſt attempts towards a *change*; although it cannot be doubted that they would be glad to have their *ſuperſtition* reſtored under any prince whatſoever.

Secondly, the *diſſenters* are now *tolerated by law*; neither do we obſerve any *murmurs* at preſent from that quarter, except thoſe *reaſonable* complaints they make of *perſecution*, becauſe they are excluded from civil employments; but their number being very ſmall in either *houſe* of parliament, they are not *yet* in a ſituation to erect a *party*: becauſe, however indifferent men may be with regard to *religion*, they are *now* grown wiſe enough to know, that if ſuch a *latitude* were allowed to *diſſenters*, the few ſmall employments left us in cities and corporations would find *other hands* to lay hold on them.

Thirdly, the diſpute between *high* and

and *low church* is now at an end; two thirds of the *biſhops* having been promoted in *this* reign, and moſt of them from *England*, who have beſtowed *all* preferments in their gift to thoſe they could well *confide in:* The *deanries* all, except three, and many principal church livings, are in the donation of the crown: ſo that we already poſſeſs *ſuch a body of clergy*, as will never engage in controverſy upon that *antiquated* and *exploded* ſubject.

Laſtly, as to *court* and *country parties*, ſo famous and avowed under moſt reigns in *Engliſh* parliaments: this kingdom hath not for ſeveral years paſt been a proper ſcene, whereon to exerciſe ſuch contentions; and is now leſs proper than ever; many great employments for life being in *diſtant* hands, and the *reverſions diligently watched and ſecured*; the temporary ones of any *inviting* value are all beſtowed *elſewhere* as faſt as they drop, and the few remaining are of too low conſideration to create conteſts about them, except among younger brothers, or tradeſmen like myſelf.

And

And therefore, to inſtitute a *court* and *country party* without *materials*, would be a very new ſyſtem in politicks, and what I believe was never thought on before: nor unleſs in *a nation of idiots* can ever ſucceed, for the moſt ignorant *Iriſh* cottager will not *ſell his cow for a groat*.

Therefore I conclude, that all *party* and *faction* with regard to public proceedings are now extinguiſhed in this kingdom *; neither doth it appear in view how they can poſſibly *revive*; unleſs ſome new cauſes be adminiſtered; which cannot be done without *croſſing the intereſts of thoſe who are the greateſt gainers by continuing the ſame meaſures*. And general calamities *without hope of redreſs* are allowed to be the great *uniters* of mankind.

However we may diſlike the *cauſes*, yet this *effect* of begetting an univerſal concord among us in all *national debates*, as well as in *cities*, *corporations*, and *country neighbourhoods* may keep us

* Since this diſcourſe was written, it hath appeared by experience, that the author was much miſtaken in his conjectures.

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at leaſt alive, and in a condition to eat the little bread allowed us in *peace* and *amity*. I have heard of a quarrel in a tavern, where all were at daggers-drawing, till one of the company cried out, deſiring to know the *ſubject of the quarrel*; which when none of them could tell, they put up their ſwords, ſat down, and paſſed the reſt of the evening in *quiet*. The *former part* hath been our caſe, I hope the *latter* will be ſo too; that we ſhall *ſit down* amicably together, at leaſt until we have *ſomething* that may give us a title to fall out, ſince nature hath inſtructed even a brood of *goſlings* to *ſtick together*, while the *kite* is hovering over their heads.

It is certain, that a firm *union* in any country, where every man wiſhes the ſame thing with relation to the publick, may in ſeveral points of the greateſt importance in ſome meaſure ſupply the *defect of power*, and even *of thoſe rights which are the natural and undoubted inheritance of mankind*. If the univerſal *wiſh* of the nation upon any point were declared by the *unanimous* vote of the

houſe of commons, and a reaſonable number of lords, I ſhould think myſelf obliged in conſcience to act in my ſphere according to that vote; becauſe, in all free nations, I take the proper definition of *law* to be, the *will of the majority of thoſe who have the property in land*; which, if there be a monarchy, is to be confirmed by the royal aſſent. And although ſuch *votes* or *declarations* have not received ſuch a confirmation for certain *accidental reaſons*; yet I think they ought to be of much weight with the *ſubject*, provided they neither oppoſe the king's prerogative, endanger the peace of the nation, nor infringe any law already in force; none of which however can reaſonably be ſuppoſed. Thus for inſtance, if nine in ten of the houſe of commons, and a reaſonable number of native temporal peers, ſhould declare, that whoever received or uttered *braſs coin*, except under certain limitations and ſecurities, ſhould be deemed as *enemies to the king and the nation*; I ſhould think it a heinous ſin in myſelf to act contrary to ſuch a vote; and

nd if the ſame power ſhould declare he ſame *cenſure* againſt thoſe who wore *ndian* ſtuffs and *callicoes*, or *woolen manufactures imported from abroad*, where- y this nation is reduced to the low- ſt ebb of miſery, I ſhould *readily*, *hear- ily*, and *chearfully* pay obedience; and o my utmoſt power perſuade others to lo the like: becauſe there is no *law* f this land obliging us either to *receive uch coin*, or to *wear ſuch foreign manufactures*.

* Upon this laſt article I could humly wiſh, that the reverend the *clergy* would ſet us an example, by contenting hemſelves with wearing gowns and oher habiliments of *Iriſh* drapery; which, is it would be ſome incitement to the *aity*, and ſet many hands to work, ſo hey would find their advantage in the *heapneſs*, which is a circumſtance not o be neglected by *too many* among that enerable body. † And in order to this

* This hath ſince been put n practice by the perſuaſions nd influence of the ſuppoſed uthor; but much defeated y the moſt infamous fraud f ſhop-keepers.

† This ſcheme was likewiſe often urged to the weavers by the ſuppoſed author; but he could never prevail on them to put it in practice.

I could heartily deſire, that the moſt ingenious artiſts of the weaving trade would contrive ſome decent ſtuffs and ſilks for *clergymen* at reaſonable rates.

I have preſſed ſeveral of our moſt ſubſtantial brethren, that the whole corporations of *weavers* in ſilk and woolen would publiſh ſome *propoſals* (I wiſh they would do it to both houſes of parliament) inviting perſons of all degrees and of both ſexes to wear the woolen and ſilk manufactures of our own country; entering into ſolemn, mutual engagements, that the buyer ſhall have good, ſubſtantial, merchantable ware for his money, and at a certain rate, without the trouble of cheapening: ſo that if I ſent a child for a piece of ſtuff of a particular colour and fineneſs, I ſhould be ſure not to be deceived; or if I had reaſon to complain, the corporation ſhould give me immediate ſatisfaction; and the name of the tradeſman, who did me the wrong, ſhould be publiſhed; and warning given not to deal with him for the future; unleſs the matter plainly appeared to be a miſtake:

take: for, beſide the trouble of going from ſhop to ſhop, an ignorant cuſtomer runs the hazard of being cheated in the price and goodneſs of what he buys, being forced to an unequal combat with a dextrous and diſhoneſt man in his own calling. Thus our goods fall under a general diſreputation; and the gentry call for *Engliſh* cloth, or ſilk, from an opinion they have (and often too juſtly by our own faults) that the *goodneſs* more than makes up for the difference of price.

Beſides, it hath been the ſottiſh and ruinous practice of us tradeſmen, upon any great demand of goods either at home or from abroad, to raiſe the prices immediately, and manufacture the ſaid goods more ſlightly and fraudulently than before.

Of this foul and fooliſh proceeding too many inſtances might be produced; and I cannot forbear mentioning one, whereby this poor kingdom hath received ſuch a fatal blow in the *only article of trade* allowed us of any importance, that nothing but the ſucceſs of *Wood's*

project could out-do it. During the late plague in *France*, the *Spaniards*, who buy their linen cloths in that kingdom, not daring to venture thither for fear of infection, a very great demand was made here for that commodity, and exported to *Spain*: but, whether by the ignorance of the merchants, or diſhoneſty of the *northern* weavers, or the colluſion of both, the ware was ſo bad, and the price ſo exceſſive, that, except ſome ſmall quantity which was ſold below the prime coſt, the greateſt part was returned: and I have been told by very intelligent perſons, that, if we had been fair dealers, the whole current of the linen trade to *Spain* would have taken its courſe from hence.

If any puniſhment were to be inflicted on *numbers of men*, ſurely there could none be thought too great for ſuch a race of *traitors*, and *enemies* to God and their country; who, for the proſpect of a little *preſent* gain, do not only ruin themſelves (for that alone would be an *example* to the reſt, and a *bleſſing* to the nation) but ſell their ſouls to hell, and

and their country to deſtruction. And if the *plague* could have been confined only to thoſe who were *partakers in the guilt*, had it traveled hither from *Marſeilles*, thoſe wretches would have died with leſs title to *pity*, than a *highwayman* going to the gallows.

But it happens very *unluckily*, that for *ſome time paſt* all endeavours or propoſals from private perſons to advance the public ſervice, however honeſtly and innocently deſigned, have been called FLYING IN THE KING'S FACE; and this to my knowledge hath been the ſtyle of *ſome perſons*, whoſe *anceſtors* (I mean thoſe among them who *had any*) and *themſelves* have been *flying in princes faces* theſe fourſcore years; and from their own inclinations would do ſo ſtill, if their intereſt did not lead them rather to *fly in the face* of a kingdom, which hath given them *wings* to enable them for ſuch a *flight*.

Thus, about four years ago, when a diſcourſe * was publiſhed endeavouring to perſuade our people to wear their

* The propoſal for the univerſal uſe of *Iriſh* manufactures.

own woolen manufactures, full of the moſt dutiful expreſſions to the king, and without the leaſt *party hint*, it was termed *flying in the king's face*; the *printer* was proſecuted in the manner we all remember, and I hope *it will ſomewhere be remembered further*; the *jury* kept eleven hours, and ſent back nine times, till they were under the neceſſity of leaving the priſoner to the mercy of the court, by a *ſpecial verdict*; the * *judge* on the bench *invoking God for his witneſs*, when he aſſerted that the author's deſign was to bring in the *pretender*.

And thus alſo my own poor endeavours to prevent the ruin of my country by the admiſſion of *Wood's* coin were called by the ſame perſons, *flying in the king's face*; which I directly deny: for I cannot allow that *vile* repreſentation of the royal *countenance* in *William Wood's* adulterate copper to be his ſacred majeſty's *face*; or, if it were, my *flying* was not againſt the *impreſſion*, but the *baſeneſs* of the *metal*; becauſe

* Judge *Whitſhed*.

I well

I well remembered, that the *image* which *Nebuchadnezzar commanded to be ſet up for all men to fall down and worſhip it*, was not of COPPER, but pure GOLD. And I am heartily ſorry we have ſo few *royal images* of that *metal* among us; the ſight whereof, although it could hardly increaſe our veneration for his majeſty, which is already ſo great, yet would very much *enliven* it with the mixture of *comfort* and *ſatisfaction*.

Alexander the Great would ſuffer no ſtatuary, except *Phidias*, to carve his image in ſtone or metal. How muſt he have treated ſuch an operator as *Wood*, who goes about with *ſack-fulls* of *droſs*, odiouſly miſrepreſenting his prince's *countenance*; and would force them by thouſands upon every one of us at above *ſix times the value!*

But, notwithſtanding all that hath been objected by *William Wood* himſelf, together with his *favourers*, *abettors*, *ſupporters*, either *public* or *private*; by thoſe who *connive* at this project, or *diſcourage* and *diſcountenance* his *oppoſers* for fear of leſſening their *favour*, or hazard-

hazarding their *employments*; by thoſe who endeavour to *damp* the *ſpirit* of the people raiſed againſt this coin, or check the honeſt zeal of ſuch as by their *writings* or *diſcourſes* do all they can to keep it up; by thoſe *ſofteners*, *ſweeteners*, *compounders*, and *expedient-mongers*, who *ſhake* their *heads* ſo ſtrongly that we can *hear their pockets jingle*; I did never imagine, that in detecting the practices of ſuch *enemies* to the kingdom I was *flying in the king's face*; or thought they were better *repreſenters* of his majeſty, than that very *coin*, for which they are *ſecret* or *open* advocates.

If I were allowed to recite only thoſe *wiſhes* of the nation, which may be in our power to attain; I think they might be ſummed up in theſe few following.

Firſt, that an end might be put to our apprehenſions of *Wood's* half-pence, and to any danger of the *like* deſtructive ſcheme for the future.

Secondly, that half-pence might be coined in this kingdom by a public mint, with due limitations.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, that the ſenſe of both houſes of parliament, at leaſt of the houſe of commons, were declared by ſome *unanimous* and *hearty votes* againſt wearing any ſilk or woolen manufactures imported from abroad; as likewiſe againſt wearing *Indian* ſilks or callicoes, which are forbidden under the higheſt penalties in *England:* and it behoves us to take example from ſo wiſe a nation; becauſe we are under a *greater neceſſity* to do ſo, ſince *we* are not allowed to *export* any woolen manufactures of our own; which is the principal branch of foreign trade in *England.*

Fourthly, that ſome effectual methods may be taken to civilize the poorer ſort of our natives in all thoſe parts of this kingdom where the *Iriſh* abound, by introducing among them our language and cuſtoms; for want of which they live in the utmoſt ignorance, barbarity, and poverty, giving themſelves wholly up to idleneſs, naſtineſs, and thievery, to the very great and juſt reproach of too many landlords. And, if I had in me the leaſt ſpirit of a *projector,*

jector, I would engage, that this might be effected in a few years at a very inconſiderable charge.

Fifthly, that due encouragement ſhould be given to *agriculture*; and a ſtop put to that pernicious practice of graziers engroſſing vaſt quantities of land, ſometimes at great diſtance; whereby the country is extremely depopulated.

Sixthly, that the defects in thoſe acts for planting foreſt trees might be fully ſupplied, ſince they have hitherto been wholly ineffectual, except about the demeſnes of a few gentlemen; and even there in general very unſkilfully made, and thriving accordingly. Neither hath there yet been due care taken to preſerve what is planted, or to incloſe grounds; not one hedge in a hundred coming to maturity for want of ſkill and induſtry. The neglect of *copſing* woods cut down hath likewiſe been of very evil conſequences. And if men were reſtrained from that unlimited liberty of *cutting down their own woods* before the proper time, as they are in ſome other countries, it would be a

mighty benefit to the kingdom. For, I believe, there is not another example in *Europe* of ſuch a prodigious quantity of excellent timber cut down in ſo ſhort a time, with ſo little advantage to the country either in *ſhipping* or *building*.

I may add that abſurd practice of cutting *turf* without any regularity; whereby great quantities of reſtorable land are made utterly deſperate, many thouſands of cattle deſtroyed, the *turf* more difficult to come at and carry home, and leſs fit for burning; the air made unwholeſome by ſtagnating pools and marſhes; and the very ſight of ſuch places offenſive to thoſe who ride by. Neither ſhould that odious cuſtom be allowed of cutting *ſcraws* (as they call them), which is flaying off the green ſurface of the ground, to cover their cabins, or make up their ditches; ſometimes in ſhallow ſoils, where all is gravel within a few inches; and ſometimes in low ground, with a thin green ſward, and ſloughy underneath; which laſt turns all into bog by this miſmanagement

nagement. And I have heard from very skilful countrymen, that by these two practices in *turf* and *scraws* the kingdom loseth some hundreds of acres of profitable land every year; besides the irreparable loss of many skirts of bogs, which have a green coat of grass, and yet are mangled for *turf*; and besides the want of canals by regular cutting, which would not only be a great convenience for bringing their *turf* home at an easy rate, but likewise render even the larger bogs more dry and safe for summer pasture.

These, and some other speculations of the like kind, I had intended to publish in a particular discourse against this session of parliament; because, in some periods of my life, I had opportunity and curiosity to observe, from what causes those great errors in every branch of country management have arisen; of which I have now ventured to relate but few out of very many; whereof some perhaps would not be mentioned without giving offence, which I have endeavoured

deavoured by all poſſible means to avoid. And for the ſame reaſon I choſe to add here the little I thought proper to ſay on this ſubject.

But, as to the lands of thoſe who are *perpetual abſentees*, I do not ſee any probability of their being ever improved. In former times their tenants ſat at eaſy rents; but for ſome years paſt they have been generally ſpeaking more terribly racked by the dexterity of *mercileſs agents* from *England*, than even thoſe who held under the ſevereſt landlords here. I was aſſured upon the place, by great numbers of credible people, that a prodigious eſtate in the county of *Cork* being let upon leaſes for lives, and great fines paid, the rent was ſo high, that the tenants begged leave to ſurrender their *leaſes*, and were content to loſe their *fines*.

The cultivating and improvement of land is certainly a ſubject worthy of the higheſt enquiry in any country, but eſpecially in ours; where we are ſo ſtrangely limited in every branch of trade that can be of advantage to us, and utterly deprived

deprived of thoſe, which are of the greateſt importance; whereof I defy the moſt learned man in *Europe* to produce me an example from any other kingdom in the world: for we are denied the *benefit* which *God* and *nature* intended to us; as manifeſtly appears by our *happy ſituation for commerce*, and the *great number of our excellent ports*. So that, I think, little is left us, beſides the cultivating our own ſoil, encouraging *agriculture*, and making great plantations of trees, that we might not be under the neceſſity of ſending for *corn* and *bark* from *England*, and *timber* from other countries. This would increaſe the number of our inhabitants, aad help to conſume our natural products as well as manufactures at home. And I ſhall never forget what I once ventured to ſay to a great man in *England:* that few *politicians*, with all their ſchemes, are half ſo uſeful members of a commonwealth, as an *honeſt farmer*; who, by ſkilfully draining, fencing, manuring, and planting, hath increaſed the intrinſic value of

of a piece of land; and thereby done a *perpetual ſervice* to his country; which it is a great controverſy whether any of the *former* ever did, ſince the creation of the world; but no controverſy at all that ninety-nine in a hundred have done abundance of miſchief.

A FULL AND TRUE

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Solemn Proceſſion to the Gallows, at the Execution of *William Wood*, Eſquire and Hard-ware-man.

Written in the year 1724.

SOME time ago, upon a report ſpread that *William Wood*, hard-ware man, was concealed in his brother-in-law's * houſe here in *Dublin*, a great number of people of different conditions, and of both ſexes, crowded about the door, determinately bent to take revenge upon him, as a coiner and a counterfeiter. Amongſt the reſt, a certain curious perſon ſtanding in a corner obſerved, that they all diſcovered their reſentments in the proper terms and expreſſions of their ſeveral trades and callings; whereof he wrote down as many as he could remember; and was pleaſed to commu-

* One *Molyneux* an ironmonger.

nicate

nicate them to me, with leave to publiſh them for the uſe of thoſe who at any time hereafter may be at a loſs for proper words wherein to expreſs their good diſpoſitions towards the ſaid *William Wood.*

The people cried out to have him delivered into their hands.

Says the parliament-man, *expel* him the *houſe.*

2d parliament man, I ſecond that *motion.*

Cook. I'll *baſte* him.

2d *Cook.* I'll give him his *belly-full.*

3d *Cook.* I'll give him a *lick* in the *chops.*

4th *Cook.* I'll *ſowce* him.

Drunken-man. I'll beat him as long as I can *ſtand,*

Bookſeller. I'll turn over a *new leaf* with him.

Saddler. I'll *pummel* him.

Glazier. I'll make the *light* ſhine through him.

Grocer. I'll *pepper* him.

Groom. I'll *curry* his hide.

'Pothecary. I'll *pound* him.

2d *'Pothecary.* I'll beat him to *mummy.*

School-maſter. I'll make him an *example.*

Rabbet-catcher. I'll *ferret* him.

Paviour. I'll *thump* him.

Coiner. I'll give him a *rap.*

WHIG. Down with him.

TORY. Up with him.

Miller. I'll daſh out his *grinders.*

2d *Miller. Dam* him.

Boat-man. Sink him.

Scavenger. Throw him in the *kennel.*

Dyer. I'll beat him *black* and *blue.*

Bagnio-man. I'll make the *houſe* too *hot* for him.

Whore. Pox rot him.

2d *Whore.* Let me *alone* with him.

3d *Whore. Clap* him up.

Muſtard-maker. I'll have him by the *noſe.*

Curate. I'll make the *devil come out of him.*

Popiſh-prieſt. I'll *ſend him* to the devil.

Dancing-maſter. I'll *teach him better manners.*

2d *Dancing-maſter.* I'll make him cut a *caper* three ſtory high.

Farmer. I'll *thraſh him.*

Taylor.

Taylor. I'll ſit on his *ſkirts.*

2d *Taylor.* *Hell* is too good for him.

3d *Taylor.* I'll *pink* his *doublet.*

4th *Taylor.* I'll make his a——make *buttons.*

Baſket-maker. I'll *hamper* him.

Fidler. I'll have him by the *ears.*

2d *Fidler.* I'll bang him to ſome *tune.*

Barber. I'll have him by the *beard.*

2d *Barber.* I'll pull his *whiſkers.*

3d *Barber.* I'll make his *hair* ſtand on end.

4th *Barber.* I'll *comb* his *locks.*

Tinker. I'll try what *metal* he's made of.

Cobler. I'll make an *end* of him.

Tobacconiſt. I'll make him *ſmoke.*

2d *Tobacconiſt.* I'll make him ſet up his *pipes.*

Gold-finder. I'll make him *ſtink.*

Hackney-coachman. I'll make him know his *driver.*

2d *Hackney-coachman.* I'll *drive* him to the devil.

Butcher. I'll have a *limb* of him.

2d *Butcher.* Let us *blow him up.*

3d *Butcher.* My *knife* in him.

Nurſe. I'll *ſwaddle* him.

Anabaptiſt. We'll *dip* the rogue in the *pond.*

Oſtler. I'll *rub* him *down.*

Shoe-maker. Set him in the *ſtocks.*

Banker. I'll kick him to *half crowns.*

2d *Banker.* I'll *pay* him off.

Bowler. I'll have a *rubber* with him.

Gameſter. I'll make his *bones rattle.*

Boddice-maker. I'll *lace* his ſides.

Gardener. I'll make him *water his plants.*

Ale-wife. I'll *reckon* with him.

Cuckold. I'll make him pull in his horns.

Old Woman. I'll *mumble* him.

Hangman. I'll *throttle* him.

But at laſt the people, having received aſſurances that *William Wood* was neither in the houſe nor kingdom, appointed certain commiſſioners to hang him in effigy; whereof the whole ceremony and proceſſion deſerve to be tranſmitted to poſterity.

Firſt, the way was cleared by a detachment of the *black-guards*, with ſhort ſticks

ſticks in their hands, and cockades of paper in their hats.

Then appeared *William Wood*, Eſq; repreſented to the life by an old piece of carved timber, taken from the keel of a ſhip. Upon his face, which looked very diſmal, were fixed at proper diſtances ſeveral pieces of his own coin, to denote who he was, and to ſignify his calling and his crime. He wore on his head a perüke, very artfully compoſed of four old mops; a halter about his neck ſerved him for a cravat. His cloaths were indeed not ſo neat and elegant as is uſual with perſons in his condition (which ſome cenſorious people imputed to affectation), for he was covered with a large rugg of ſeveral colours in patch-work: he was borne upon the ſhoulders of an able-bodied porter. In his march by *St. Stephen's-green*, he often bowed on both ſides, to ſhew his reſpects to the company; his deportment was grave; and his countenance, though ſomewhat penſive, was very compoſed.

Behind him followed his father alone, in a long mourning cloak, with his hat

over his noſe, and a handkerchief in his left hand to wipe tears from his face.

Next in order marched the executioner *himſelf in perſon*; whoſe venerable aſpect drew the eyes of the whole aſſembly upon him; but he was further diſtinguiſhed by a halter, which he bore upon his left ſhoulder as the badge of his office.

Then followed two perſons hand in hand; the one repreſenting *William Wood's* brother-in-law; the other a certain *ſadler*, his intimate friend, whoſe name I forget. Each had a ſmall kettle in his hand, wherein was a reaſonable quantity of the new half-pence. At proper periods they ſhook their kettles, which made a melancholy ſound, like the ringing of a knell for their partner and confederate.

After theſe followed ſeveral officers, whoſe aſſiſtance was neceſſary for the more decent performance of the great work in hand.

The proceſſion was cloſed with an innumerable crowd of people, who frequently ſent out loud huzza's; which were cenſured

ſured by wiſer heads as a mark of inhumanity, and an ungenerous triumph over the unfortunate, without duly conſidering the various viciſſitudes of human life. However, as it becomes an impartial hiſtorian, I will not conceal one obſervation, that Mr. *Wood* himſelf appeared wholly unmoved, without the leaſt alteration in his countenance; only when he came within ſight of the fatal tree, which happened to be of the ſame ſpecies of timber with his own perſon, he ſeemed to be ſomewhat penſive.

At the place of execution he appeared undaunted, nor was ſeen to ſhed a tear. He made no reſiſtance, but ſubmitted himſelf with great reſignation to the hangman, who was indeed thought to uſe him with too much roughneſs, neither kiſſing him, nor aſking him pardon. His dying SPEECH was printed, and deſerves to be written in letters of GOLD. Being aſked whether it were his own true genuine SPEECH, he did not deny it.

Thoſe of the ſofter ſex, who attended the ceremony, lamented that ſo comely and

and well-*timbered* a man ſhould cõme to ſo untimely an end. He hung but a ſhort time; for, upon feeling his breaſt, they found it cold and ſtiff.

It is ſtrange to think, how this melancholy ſpectacle turned the hearts of the people to compaſſion. When he was cut down, the body was carried through the whole city to gather contributions for his wake; and all ſorts of people ſhewed their liberality according as they were able. The ceremony was performed in an ale-houſe of diſtinction, and in a manner ſuitable to the quality of the deceaſed. While the attendants were diſcourſing about his funeral, a worthy member of the aſſembly ſtood up, and propoſed that the body ſhould be carried out the next day, and burned with the ſame pomp and formalities uſed at his execution; which would prevent the malice of his enemies, and all indignities that might be done to his remains. This was agreed to; and about nine 'o clock on the following morning there appeared a ſecond proceſſion. But, burning not having been any part of the ſentence,

tence, authority thought fit to interpoſe, and the corpſe was reſcued by the civil power.

We hear the body is not yet interred; which occaſions many ſpeculations. But what is more wonderful, it is poſitively affirmed by many who pretend to have been eye-witneſſes, that there does not appear the leaſt alteration in any one lineament or feature of his countenance; nor viſible decay in his whole frame, further than what had been made by worms long before his execution. The ſolution of which difficulty I ſhall leave among naturaliſts.

A SHORT

A

SHORT VIEW

OF THE

STATE of *IRELAND.*

Written in the Year 1727.

I AM aſſured, that it hath for ſome time been practiſed as a method of making men's court, when they are aſked about the rate of lands, the abilities of tenants, the ſtate of trade and manufacture in this kingdom, and how their rents are paid, to anſwer, that in their neighbourhood all things are in a flouriſhing condition, the rent and purchaſe of land every day increaſing. And if a gentleman happen to be a little more ſincere in his repreſentations; beſides being looked on as not well affected, he is ſure to have a dozen contradictors at his elbow. I think it is no manner of ſecret, why theſe queſtions are ſo *cordially* aſked, or ſo *obligingly* anſwered.

But ſince, with regard to the affairs of this kingdom, I have been uſing all endeavours

deavours to ſubdue my indignation; to which indeed I am not provoked by any perſonal intereſt, not being the owner of one ſpot of ground in the whole *iſland*; I ſhall only enumerate by rules generally known, and never contradicted, what are the true cauſes of any country's flouriſhing and growing rich; and then examine what effects ariſe from thoſe cauſes in the kingdom of *Ireland*.

The firſt cauſe of a kingdom's thriving is, the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil to produce the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life; not only ſufficient for the inhabitants, but for exportation into other countries.

The ſecond is, the induſtry of the people, in working up all their native commodities to the laſt degree of manufacture.

The third is, the conveniency of ſafe ports and havens, to carry out their own goods as much manufactured, and bring in thoſe of others as little manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow.

The fourth is, that the natives ſhould, as

as much as poſſible, export and import their goods in veſſels of their own timber, made in their own country.

The fifth is, the privilege of a free trade in all foreign countries which will permit them, except thoſe who are in war with their own prince or ſtate.

The ſixth is, by being governed only by laws made with their own conſent; for otherwiſe they are not a free people. And therefore all appeals for juſtice, or applications for favour or preferment, to another country, are ſo many grievous impoveriſhments.

The ſeventh is, by improvement of land, encouragement of agriculture, and thereby increaſing the number of their people; without which any country, however bleſſed by nature, muſt continue poor.

The eighth is, the reſidence of the prince, or chief adminiſtrator of the civil power.

The ninth is, the concourſe of foreigners, for education, curioſity, or pleaſure; or as to a general mart of trade.

The tenth is, by diſpoſing all offices

of

of honour, profit, or truſt, only to the natives; or at leaſt with very few exceptions, where ſtrangers have long inhabited the country, and are ſuppoſed to underſtand and regard the intereſt of it as their own.

The eleventh is, when the rents of lands and profits of employments are ſpent in the country which produced them, and not in another; the former of which will certainly happen where the love of our native country prevails.

The twelfth is, by the public revenues being all ſpent and employed at home, except on the occaſions of a foreign war.

The thirteenth is, where the people are not obliged, unleſs they find it for their own intereſt or conveniency, to receive any monies, except of their own coinage by a public mint after the manner of all civilized nations.

The fourteenth is, a diſpoſition of the people of a country to wear their own manufactures, and import as few incitements to luxury, either in cloaths, furniture, food, or drink, as they poſſibly can live conveniently without.

There are many other cauſes of a nation's thriving, which I at preſent cannot recollect: but without advantage from at leaſt ſome of theſe, after turning my thoughts a long time, I am not able to diſcover from whence our wealth proceeds, and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean time I will here examine what ſhare falls to *Ireland* of theſe cauſes, or of the effects and conſequences.

It is not my intention to complain, but barely to relate facts; and the matter is not of ſmall importance. For it is allowed, that a man who lives in a ſolitary houſe, far from help, is not wiſe in endeavouring to acquire in the neighbourhood the reputation of being rich; becauſe thoſe who come for gold will go off with pewter and braſs, rather than return empty: and in the common practice of the world thoſe who poſſeſs moſt wealth make the leaſt parade; which they leave to others, who have nothing elſe to bear them out in ſhewing their faces on the *exchange*.

As to the firſt cauſe of a nation's

riches, being the fertility of the ſoil, as well as temperature of climate, we have no reaſon to complain; for although the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bog and rock and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in *England*; yet the native productions, which both kingdoms deal in, are very near an equality in point of goodneſs, and might with the ſame encouragement be as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals; in ſome of which however we ae only defective in point of ſkill and induſtry.

In the ſecond, which is the induſtry of the people, our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of diſcouragements.

The conveniency of ports and havens, which nature hath beſtowed ſo liberally on this kingdom, is of no more uſe to us, than a beautiful proſpect to a man ſhut up in a dungeon.

As to ſhipping of its own, *Ireland* is ſo utterly unprovided, that of all the excellent timber cut down within theſe

fifty or ſixty years it can hardly be ſaid, that the nation hath received the benefit of one valuable houſe to dwell in, or one ſhip to trade with.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern ſtory, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleaſed, except to countries at war with their own prince or ſtate: yet this privilege, by the ſuperiority of mere power, is refuſed us in the moſt momentous parts of commerce; beſides an act of navigation, to which we never conſented, pinned down upon us, and rigorouſly executed; and a thouſand other unexampled circumſtances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the reſt.

It is too well known, that we are forced to obey ſome laws we never conſented to; which is a condition I muſt not call by its true uncontroverted name for fear of lord chief-juſtice *Whitſhed's* ghoſt with his * *libertas et natale ſolum*,

* *Liberty and my native country.*

written

written for a motto on his coach, as it ſtood at the door of the court, while he was perjuring himſelf to betray both. Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have phyſick ſent them by doctors at a diſtance, ſtrangers to their conſtitution and the nature of their diſeaſe: and thus we are forced to pay five hundred *per cent.* to decide our properties: in all which we have likewiſe the honour to be diſtinguiſhed from the whole race of mankind.

As to the improvement of land; thoſe few, who attempt that or planting, through covetouſneſs or want of ſkill generally leave things worſe than they were; neither ſucceeding in trees nor hedges; and by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the *Scythians*, are every day depopulating the country.

We are ſo far from having a king to reſide among us, that even the viceroy is generally abſent four fifths of his time in the government.

No ſtrangers from other countries make this a part of their travels; where

they can expect to ſee nothing but ſcenes of miſery and deſolation.

Thoſe who have the misfortune to be born here, have the leaſt title to any conſiderable employment; to which they are ſeldom preferred, but upon a political conſideration.

One third part of the rents of *Ireland* is ſpent in *England*; which, with the profit of employments, penſions, appeals, journies of pleaſure or health, education at the *inns* of court and both univerſities, remittances at pleaſure, the pay of all ſuperior officers in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to *England*.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, ſilver, or even copper. In the iſle of *Man* they coin their own *ſilver*; every petty prince, vaſſal to the *Emperor*, can coin what money he pleaſeth. And in this, as in moſt of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other ſtates or monarchies, that were ever known in the world.

As

As to the laſt, or fourteenth article, we take ſpecial care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole courſe of our lives. Both ſexes, but eſpecially the women, deſpiſe and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even thoſe which are better made than in other countries; particularly a ſort of ſilk plaid, through which the workmen are forced to run a kind of gold thread that it may paſs for *Indian*. Even ale and potatoes are imported from *England*, as well as corn; and our foreign trade is little more than importation of *French* wine, for which I am told we pay ready money.

Now, if all this be true (upon which I could eaſily enlarge), I would be glad to know, by what ſecret method it is, that we grow a rich and flouriſhing people, without *liberty*, *trade*, *manufactures*, *inhabitants*, *money*, or the *privilege of coining*; without *induſtry*, *labour*, or *improvement of land*; and with more than half the rent and profits of the whole *kingdom* annually exported, for

which we receive not a ſingle farthing: and to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of the *North*, a trade caſual, corrupted, and at mercy; and ſome butter from *Cork*. If we do flouriſh, it muſt be againſt every law of nature and reaſon; like the thorn at *Glaſtenbury*, that bloſſoms in the midſt of winter.

Let the worthy *commiſſioners*, who come from *England*, ride round the kingdom, and obſerve the face of nature, or the face of the natives; the improvement of the land; the thriving numerous plantations; the noble woods; the abundance and vicinity of country ſeats; the commodious farmers houſes and barns; the towns and villages, where every body is buſy, and thriving with all kind of manufactures; the ſhops full of goods wrought to perfection, and filled with cuſtomers; the comfortable diet and dreſs, and dwellings of the people; the vaſt numbers of ſhips in our harbours and docks, and ſhip-wrights in our ſea-port towns; the roads crouded

with carriers, laden with rich manufactures; the perpetual concourſe to and fro of pompous equipages.

With what envy and admiration would thoſe gentlemen return from ſo delightful a progreſs? what glorious reports would they make, when they went back to *England?*

But my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer; for it is manifeſt, that whatever ſtranger took ſuch a journey, would be apt to think himſelf traveling in *Lapland* or *Yſland*, rather than in a country ſo favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulneſs of ſoil, and temperature of climate. The miſerable dreſs, and diet, and dwelling of the people; the general deſolation in moſt parts of the kingdom; the old ſeats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their ſtead; the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and naſtineſs upon buttermilk and potatoes, without a ſhoe or ſtocking to their feet, or a houſe ſo convenient as an *Engliſh* hog-ſty to receive them. Theſe indeed may be comfortable ſights to an

Engliſh ſpectator; who comes for a ſhort time, only *to learn the language*, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all our wealth tranſmitted.

Noſtra miſeria magna eſt.

There is not one argument uſed to prove the riches of *Ireland*, which is not a logical demonſtration of its poverty. The riſe of our rents is ſqueezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and cloaths, and dwellings of the tenants, who live worſe than *Engliſh* beggars. The lowneſs of intereſt, in all other countries a ſign of wealth, is in us a proof of miſery; there being no trade to employ any borrower. Hence alone comes the dearneſs of land, ſince the ſavers have no other way to lay out their money: hence the dearneſs of neceſſaries for life: becauſe the tenants cannot afford to pay ſuch extravagant rates for land (which they muſt take or go a begging), without raiſing the price of cattle, and of corn, although themſelves ſhould live upon chaff. Hence our increaſe of buildings in this city; becauſe workmen have nothing

nothing to do but to employ one another, and one half of them are infallibly undone. Hence the daily increaſe of *bankers*, who may be a neceſſary evil in a trading country, but ſo ruinous in ours; who for their private advantage have ſent away all our ſilver, and one third of our gold; ſo that within three years paſt the running caſh of the nation, which was about five hundred thouſand pounds, is now leſs than two, and muſt daily diminiſh, unleſs we have liberty to coin, as well as that important kingdom, the iſle of *Man*, and the meaneſt principality in the *German* empire, as I before obſerved.

I have ſometimes thought, that this paradox of the kingdom growing rich is chiefly owing to thoſe worthy gentlemen the BANKERS; who, except ſome cuſtom-houſe officers, birds of paſſage, oppreſſive thrifty 'ſquires, and a few others who ſhall be nameleſs, are the only thriving people among us: and I have often wiſhed, that a law were enacted to hang up half a dozen *bankers* every year, and thereby interpoſe, at leaſt ſome

ſhort

ſhort delay to the further ruin of *Ireland.*

Ye are idle, ye are idle, anſwered *Pharaoh* to the *Iſraelites,* when they complained to *his majeſty,* that they were forced to make bricks without ſtraw.

England enjoys every one of thoſe advantages for enriching a nation, which I have above enumerated; and, into the bargain, a good million returned to them every year without labour or hazard, or one farthing value received on our ſide: but how long we ſhall be able to continue the payment, I am not under the leaſt concern. One thing I know, that *when the hen is ſtarved to death, there will be no more golden eggs.*

I think it a little unhoſpitable, and others may call it a ſubtile piece of malice, that becauſe there may be a dozen families in this town able to entertain their *Engliſh* friends in a generous manner at their tables, their gueſts upon their return to *England* ſhall report, that we wallow in riches and luxury.

Yet, I confeſs, I have known an hoſpital,

ſpital, where all the houſhold officers grew rich; while the poor, for whoſe ſake it was built, were almoſt ſtarving for want of food and raiment.

To conclude, if *Ireland* be a rich and flouriſhing kingdom, its wealth and proſperity muſt be owing to certain cauſes, that are yet concealed from the whole race of mankind; and the effects are equally inviſible. We need not wonder at ſtrangers, when they deliver ſuch paradoxes; but a native and inhabitant of this kingdom, who gives the ſame verdict, muſt be either ignorant to ſtupidity, or a man-pleaſer at the expence of all honour, conſcience, and truth *.

* The preſent ſtate of *Ireland* § is in general as flouriſhing as poſſible. Agriculture is cultivated: arts and ſciences are encouraged: and in the ſpace of eighteen years, which is almoſt the full time that I have known it, no kingdom can be more improved.

ORRERY.

§ 1752.

AN

AN

ANSWER

TO

A PAPER

CALLED

A Memorial of the poor Inhabitants, Tradeſmen, and Labourers of the Kingdom of Ireland.

Written in the Year 1728.

I RECEIVED a *paper* from you, whoever you are, printed without any name of author or printer; and ſent, I ſuppoſe, to me among others without any particular diſtinction. It contains a complaint of the dearneſs of corn; and ſome ſchemes for making it cheaper, which I cannot approve of.

But pray permit me, before I go further, to give you a ſhort hiſtory of the ſteps by which we arrived at this hopeful ſituation.

I:

It was indeed the ſhameful practice of too many *Iriſh* farmers to wear out their ground with ploughing; while, either through poverty, lazineſs, or ignorance, they neither took care to manure it as they ought, nor gave time to any part of the land to recover itſelf; and when their leaſes were near expiring, being aſſured that their landlords would not renew, they ploughed even the meadows, and made ſuch havock, that many landlords were conſiderable ſufferers by it *.

This gave birth to that abominable race of graziers, who upon expiration of the farmers leaſes were ready to engroſs great quantities of land; and the gentlemen having been before often ill paid, and their land worn out of heart, were too eaſily tempted, when a rich grazier made an offer to take all their land, and give them ſecurity for payment. Thus, a vaſt tract of land, where twenty or thirty farmers lived, together with

* This practice probably produced the penal clauſes to prohibit ploughing, mentioned in the *Propoſal for the univerſal uſe of Iriſh manufactures*.

their

their cottagers and labourers in their ſeveral cabins became all deſolate, and eaſily managed by one or two herdſmen and their boys; whereby the maſter-grazier with little trouble ſeized to himſelf the livelihood of a hundred people.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the farmers were juſtly puniſhed for their *knavery*, *brutality*, and *folly*. But neither are the *ſquires* and *landlords* to be excuſed; for to them is owing the depopulating of the country, the vaſt number of *beggars*, and the ruin of thoſe few ſorry improvements we had.

That *farmers* ſhould be limited in ploughing, is very reaſonable, and practiſed in *England*; and might have eaſily been done here by penal clauſes in their leaſes: but to deprive them in a manner altogether from tilling their lands, was a moſt ſtupid want of thinking.

Had the *farmers* been confined to plough a certain quantity of land, with a penalty of ten pounds an acre for whatever they exceeded, and further limited

ıited for the three or four laſt years of heir leaſes, all this evil had been pre-ented; the nation would have ſaved a *illion of money*; and been more po-ulous by above *two hundred thouſand ouls.*

For a people, denied the benefit of *rade*, to manage their lands in ſuch a nanner as to produce nothing, but what hey are forbidden to trade with, or on-y ſuch things as they can neither ex-port nor manufacture to advantage, is an abſurdity that a *wild Indian* would be aſhamed of; eſpecially when we add, that we are content to purchaſe this hope-ful commerce by ſending to foreign mar-kets for our daily bread.

The *grazier's* employment is to feed great flocks of *ſheep*, or *black cattle*, or both. With regard to *ſheep*, as folly is uſually accompanied with perverſeneſs, ſo it is here. There is ſomething ſo monſtrous to deal in a commodity (fur-ther than for our own uſe), which we are not allowed to export manufactur-ed, nor even unmanufactured, but to *one certain country*, and only to ſome

few ports in that country; there is, I ſay ſomething ſo ſottiſh, that it wants a name in our language to expreſs it by: and the good of it is, that the more *ſheep* we have, the fewer human creatures are left to wear the *wool*, or eat the *fleſh*. *Ajax* was mad, when he miſtook a flock of *ſheep* for his enemies: but we ſhall never be ſober, until we have the ſame way of thinking.

The other part of the *grazier's* buſineſs is what we call *black cattle*, producing *hides*, *tallow*, and *beef* for exportation: all which are good and uſeful commodities, if rightly managed. But it ſeems, the greateſt part of the *hides* are ſent out raw, for want of *bark* to *tan* them; and that want will daily grow ſtronger: for, I doubt, the new project of *tanning* without it is at an end. Our *beef*, I am afraid, ſtill continues ſcandalous in foreign markets for *the old reaſons*. But our *tallow*, for any thing I know, may be good. However, to beſtow the whole kingdom on *beef* and *mutton*, and thereby drive out half the people, who ſhould eat their ſhare,

and force the reſt to ſend ſometimes as far as *Egypt* for bread to eat with it, is a moſt peculiar and diſtinguiſhed piece of public œconomy, of which I have no comprehenſion.

I know very well that our anceſtors the *Scythians*, and their poſterity our kinſmen the *Tartars*, lived upon the blood and milk and raw fleſh of their cattle, without one grain of *corn*; but I confeſs myſelf ſo degenerate, that I am not eaſy without *bread* to my victuals.

What amazed me for a week or two, was to ſee, in this prodigious plenty of *cattle*, and dearth of *human creatures*, and want of *bread*, as well as *money* to buy it, that all kind of *fleſh-meat* ſhould be monſtrouſly *dear*, beyond what was ever known in this kingdom. I thought it a defect in the laws, that there was not ſome regulation in the price of *fleſh*, as well as *bread*: but I imagine myſelf to have gueſſed out the reaſon: in ſhort, I am apt to think, that the whole kingdom is over ſtocked with *cattle*, both *black* and *white*: and as it is obſerved,

that the poor *Iriſh* have a vanity to be rather owners of two lean cows than one fat, although with double the charge of grazing, and but half the quantity of milk; ſo I conceive it much more difficult at preſent to find a fat *bullock* or *wether*, than it would be if half of them were fairly knocked on the head: for I am aſſured, that the diſtrict in the ſeveral markets, called *carrion-row*, is as reaſonable as the poor can deſire; only the circumſtance of *money to purchaſe it*, and of *trade*, or *labour*, to *purchaſe* that *money*, are indeed wholly wanting.

Now, Sir, to return more particularly to you, and your memorial.

A hundred thouſand barrels of *wheat*, you ſay, ſhould be imported hither; and ten thouſand pounds *præmium* to the importers. Have you looked into the purſe of the nation? I am no commiſſioner of the *treaſury*; but am well aſſured, that the whole running *caſh* would not ſupply you with a ſum to purchaſe ſo much *corn*, which, only at twenty ſhillings a barrel, will be a hun-

dred thouſand pounds; and ten thouſand more for the *præmium*. But you will traffick for your *corn* with other goods: and where are thoſe goods? if you had them, they are all engaged to pay the rents of *abſentees*, and other occaſions in *London*, beſides a huge balance of trade this year againſt us. Will foreigners take our bankers paper? I ſuppoſe, they will value it at little more than ſo much a quire. Where are theſe *rich farmers* and *ingroſſers of corn*, in ſo bad a year, and ſo little ſowing?

You are in pain for two ſhillings *præmium*, and forget the twenty ſhillings for the price; find me out the latter, and I will engage for the former.

Your ſcheme for a tax for raiſing ſuch a ſum is all viſionary, and owing to a great want of knowledge in the *miſerable ſtate* of this nation. *Tea*, *coffee*, *ſugar*, *ſpices*, *wine*, and *foreign cloths*, are the particulars you mention, upon which this tax ſhould be raiſed. I will allow the two firſt; becauſe they are unwholeſome; and the laſt, becauſe I ſhould be glad if they were all burned;

but I beg you will leave us our wine to make us a while forget our miſery; or give your tenants leave to plough for *barley*. But I will tell you a *ſecret*, which I learned many years ago from the commiſſioners of the *cuſtoms* in *London:* they ſaid, when any *commodity* appeared to be taxed above a *moderate rate*, the conſequence was to leſſen that branch of the revenue by one half; and one of thoſe gentlemen pleaſantly told me, that the miſtake of parliaments on ſuch occaſions was owing to an error of computing two and two to make four; whereas in the buſineſs of laying *heavy impoſitions* two and two never made more than one; which happens by leſſening the import, and the ſtrong temptation of running ſuch goods as paid high duties, at leaſt in this kingdom. Although the women are as vain and extravagant as their lovers or their huſbands can deſerve, and the men are fond enough of wine, yet the number of both, who can afford ſuch expences, is ſo ſmall, that the major part muſt refuſe gratifying themſelves, and the duties will

will rather be leſſened than increaſed. But, allowing no force in this argument; yet ſo preternatural a ſum, as one hundred and ten thouſand pounds, raiſed all on a ſudden (for there is no dallying with hunger), is juſt in proportion with raiſing a million and a half in *England*; which, as things now ſtand, would probably bring that opulent kingdom under ſome difficulties.

You are concerned how ſtrange and ſurprizing it would be in foreign parts to hear, that the poor were ſtarving in a RICH country, *etc.* Are you in earneſt? is *Ireland* the *rich country* you mean? or are you inſulting our *poverty?* were you ever out of *Ireland?* or were you ever in it till of late? You may probably have a good employment, and are ſaving all you can to purchaſe a good eſtate in *England.* But by talking ſo familiarly of one hundred and ten thouſand pounds by a *tax* upon a few *commodities*, it is plain, you are either naturally or affectedly ignorant of our preſent condition; or elſe you would know and allow, that ſuch a ſum is not to be

raiſed here, without a *general exciſe*; ſince, in proportion to our wealth, we pay already in *taxes* more than *England* ever did in the height of the war. And when you have brought over your corn, who will be the buyers? moſt certainly, not the poor, who will not be *able* to purchaſe the twentieth part of it.

Sir, upon the whole, your paper is a very crude piece, liable to more objections than there are lines; but, I think, your meaning is good, and ſo far you are pardonable.

If you will propoſe a general contribution for ſupporting the poor in *potatoes* and *butter-milk*, till the new corn comes in, perhaps you may ſucceed better; becauſe the thing at leaſt is poſſible: and, I think, if our brethren in *England* would contribute upon this emergency, out of the million they gain from us every year, they would do a piece of *juſtice* as well as *charity*. In the mean time go and preach to your own tenants to fall to the plough as faſt as they can; and prevail with your neighbouring 'ſquires to do the ſame with theirs;

theirs; or elſe die with the guilt of having driven away half the inhabitants, and ſtarving the reſt. For as to your ſcheme of raiſing *one hundred and ten thouſand pounds*, it is as vain as that of *Rabelais*; which was to ſqueeze out wind from the poſteriors of a dead aſs.

But, why all this concern for the poor? We want them not as the country is now managed; they may follow thouſands of their leaders, and ſeek their bread abroad. Where the plough has no work, one family can do the buſineſs of fifty, and you may ſend away the other forty-nine. An admirable piece of huſbandry, never known or practiſed by the wiſeſt nations, who erroneouſly thought people to be the riches of a country!

If ſo wretched a ſtate of things would allow it, methinks I could have a malicious pleaſure, after all the warning I have in vain given the publick at my own peril for ſeveral years paſt, to ſee the conſequences and events anſwering in every particular. I pretend to no ſagacity: what I writ was little more than what I had diſcourſed to ſeveral perſons,

who were generally of my opinion: and it was obvious to every common underſtanding, that ſuch effects muſt needs follow from ſuch cauſes. A fair iſſue of things begun upon party rage, while ſome ſacrificed the publick to fury, and others to ambition: while a ſpirit of faction and oppreſſion reigned in every part of the country, where gentlemen, inſtead of conſulting the eaſe of their tenants or cultivating their lands, were worrying one another upon points of *whig* and *tory*, of *high church* and *low church*; which no more concerned them than the long and famous controverſy of *ſtrops* * *for razors*: while *agriculture* was wholly diſcouraged, and conſequently half the farmers and labourers, and poorer tradeſmen, forced to beggary or baniſhment: *Wiſdom crieth in the ſtreets; becauſe I have called on you; I have ſtretched out my hand, and no man regarded. But ye have ſet at nought all my counſels, and would none of my*

* A piece of leather paſted on wood to be uſed with a certain powder, for the property and excellence of which ſeveral competitors eagerly contended.

reproof.

reproof. I alſo will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh.

I have now done with your memorial, and freely excuſe your miſtakes, ſince you appear to write as a ſtranger, and as of a country which is left at liberty to enjoy the benefits of nature, and to make the beſt of thoſe advantages which God hath given it in ſoil, climate, and ſituation.

But having lately ſent out a paper, intituled, *A ſhort view of the ſtate of* Ireland; and hearing of an objection, that ſome people think I have treated the memory of the late lord chief juſtice *Whitſhed* with an appearance of ſeverity: ſince I may not probably have another opportunity of explaining myſelf in that particular, I chuſe to do it here: laying it therefore down for a *poſtulatum*, which I ſuppoſe will be univerſally granted, that no *little creature* of ſo mean a birth and genius had ever the *honour* to be a *greater enemy* to his country, and to all kinds of virtue than HE, I anſwer thus; whether there be two different goddeſſes called *Fame*, as ſome

authors contend, or only one goddeſs ſounding two different trumpets, it is certain, that people diſtinguiſhed for their *villainy* have as good a title to a blaſt from the *proper trumpet*, as thoſe who are moſt renowned for their *virtues* have from the other; and have equal reaſon to complain if it be refuſed them. And accordingly the names of the moſt *celebrated profligates* have been faithfully tranſmitted down to poſterity. And although the perſon here underſtood acted his part in an obſcure corner of the world; yet his talents might have ſhone with luſtre enough in the nobleſt ſcene.

As to my naming a perſon dead, the plain honeſt reaſon is the beſt. He was armed with power and will to do miſchief, even where he was not provoked, as appeared by his proſecuting two *printers*, one to death, and both to ruin, who had neither offended God, nor the king, nor him, nor the publick.

What an encouragement to vice is this? If an ill man be alive, and in power, we dare not attack him; and if he be weary of the world, or of his own villainies,

villainies, he has nothing to do but die, and then his reputation is ſafe. For theſe excellent caſuiſts know juſt *Latin* enough to have heard a moſt fooliſh precept, that *de mortuis nil niſi bonum*; ſo that if *Socrates*, and *Anytus* his accuſer *, had happened to die together, the charity of ſurvivors muſt either have obliged them to hold their peace, or to fix the ſame character on both. The only crime of charging the dead is, when the leaſt doubt remains whether the accuſation be true; but when men are openly abandoned, and loſt to all ſhame, they have no reaſon to think it hard, if their memory be reproached. Whoever reports, or otherwiſe publiſheth, any thing which it is poſſible may be falſe, that man is a ſlanderer; *hic niger eſt, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.* Even the leaſt miſrepreſentation, or aggravation of facts, deſerves the ſame cenſure in ſome degree: but in this caſe I am quite deceived, if my error hath not been on the ſide of extenuation.

* *Anytus* one of the wretches who accuſed *Socrates* of contemning the gods, and endeavouring to ſubvert the religion of his country.

I have

I have now preſent before me the idea of ſome perſons (I know not in what part of the world), who ſpend every moment of their lives, and every turn of their thoughts while they are awake (and probably of their dreams while they ſleep), in the moſt deteſtable actions and deſigns; who delight in *miſchief*, *ſcandal*, and *obloquy*, with the *hatred* and *contempt* of all mankind againſt them; but chiefly of thoſe among their own party, and their own family; ſuch, whoſe *odious qualities* rival each other for perfection; *avarice*, *brutality*, *faction*, *pride*, *malice*, *treachery*, *noiſe*, *impudence*, *dulneſs*, *ignorance*, *vanity*, and *revenge*, contending every moment for ſuperiority in their breaſts. Such creatures are not to be reformed; neither is it prudent, or ſafe to attempt a reformation. Yet, although their memories will *rot*, there may be ſome benefit for their ſurvivors, to ſmell it while it is *rotting*.

I am, SIR,

Your humble ſervant,

A. B.

Dublin, March 25, 1728.

A VIN-

A

VINDICATION

Of His Excellency

John Lord *Carteret*,

FROM THE

CHARGE of favouring none but *Tories*, *High-Church-men*, and *Jacobites* *.

Written in the year 1730.

IN order to treat this important ſubject with the greateſt fairneſs and impartiality, perhaps it may be convenient to give ſome account of his *excellency*; in whoſe life and character there are certain particulars, which might give a very juſt ſuſpicion of ſome truth in the accuſation he lies under.

He is deſcended from two noble, ancient and moſt loyal families, the *Carterets*, and the *Granvilles*: too much diſtinguiſhed, I confeſs, for what they acted, and what they ſuffered in defend-

* The view of this piece ſeems to be to recommend moderation, and laugh political bigotry out of countenance.

ing

ing the former conſtitution in church and ſtate under king *Charles* the martyr; I mean that very prince, on account of whoſe martyrdom *a form of prayer, with faſting, was enjoined by act of parliament to be uſed on the 30th day of* January *every year, to implore the mercies of God, that the guilt of that ſacred and innocent blood might not be viſited on us or our poſterity*; as we may read at large in our *common-prayer-books*; which day hath been ſolemnly kept, even within the memory of many men now alive.

His excellency the preſent lord was educated in the univerſity of *Oxford*; from whence, with a ſingularity ſcarce to be juſtified, he carried away more *Greek*, *Latin*, and *philoſophy*, than properly became a perſon of his rank; indeed much more of each than moſt of thoſe who are forced to live by their learning will be at the unneceſſary pains to load their heads with.

This was the rock he ſplit on upon his firſt appearance in the world, and having juſt got clear of his guardians. For

as

ſoon as he came to town, ſome biſhops, l clergymen, and other perſons moſt inent for learning and parts, got him ong them; from whom although were fortunately dragged by a lady d the court, yet he could never wipe the ſtain, nor waſh out the tincture, his univerſity acquirements and diſſitions.

To this another misfortune was add-, that it pleaſed God to endow him ith great natural talents, memory, judgeent, comprehenſion, eloquence, and it: and, to finiſh the work, all theſe ere fortified even in his youth with the lvantages received by ſuch employents, as are beſt fitted both to exerſe and poliſh the gifts of nature and lucation, having been ambaſſador in veral courts, when his age would hardallow him to take a degree; and made rincipal ſecretary of ſtate at a period hen, according to cuſtom, he ought to ave been buſied in loſing his money at chocolate houſe, or in other amuſeents equally laudable and epidemic mong perſons of honour.

I cannot

I cannot omit another weak ſide in his excellency. For it is known, and can be proved upon him, that *Greek* and *Latin* books might be found every day in his dreſſing-room, if it were carefully ſearched; and there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſome of the ſaid books have been privately conveyed to him by *tory* hands. I am likewiſe aſſured, that he hath been taken in the very fact of reading the ſaid books, even in the midſt of a ſeſſion, to the great neglect of public affairs.

I own, there may be ſome grounds for this charge; becauſe I have it from good hands, that when his excellency is at dinner with one or two ſcholars at his elbows, he grows a moſt unſupportable and unintelligible companion to all the fine gentlemen round the table.

I cannot deny, that his excellency lies under another very great diſadvantage. For with all the accompliſhments above mentioned, adding that of a moſt comely and graceful perſon, and during the prime of youth, ſpirits, and vigour, he hath

ath in a moſt unexemplary manner led regular domeſtic life; diſcovers a great ſteem, and friendſhip, and love for his ıdy, as well as true affection for his hildren; and when he is diſpoſed to dmit an entertaining evening-compaion, he doth not always enough reect, whether the perſon may poſſibly in ormer days have lain under the imputaion of a *tory*; nor at ſuch times do the ıatural or *affected* fears of *popery* and the *retender* make any part of the converſaion: I preſume, becauſe neither *Homer*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, or *Cicero*, have made any nention of them.

Theſe I freely acknowledge to be his xcellency's failings: yet, I think it is greed by philoſophers and divines, that ome allowance ought to be given to ıuman infirmity, and to the prejudices of wrong education.

I am well aware, how much my ſeniments differ from the *orthodox* opinions of one or two principal patriots, at the ıead of whom I name with honour *Pioorides*; for theſe have decided the matter directly againſt me by declaring,

that no perſon, who was ever known to lie under the ſuſpicion of one ſingle *tory* principle, or who had been once ſeen at a great man's levee in the *worſt of times* *, ſhould be allowed to come within the verge of the caſtle; much leſs to bow in the anti-chamber, appear at the *aſſemblies*, or dance at a birth-night. However, I dare aſſert that this maxim hath been often controlled; and that, on the contrary, a conſiderable number of *early penitents* have been received into grace, who are now an *ornament*, *happineſs*, and *ſupport* to the nation.

Neither do I find any murmuring on ſome other points of greater importance, where this favourite maxim is not ſo ſtrictly obſerved.

To inſtance only in one. I have not heard that any care hath hitherto been taken to diſcover whether madam † *Violante* be a *whig* or *tory* in her principles; or even that ſhe hath ever been *offered the oaths to the government*: on the con-

* The three laſt years of queen *Anne*, when lord *Oxford* was miniſter, were ſo called by the whigs.

† A famous *Italian* rope-dancer.

trary,

trary, I am told, that ſhe openly profeſſeth herſelf to be a *high-flyer*; and it is not improbable, by her outlandiſh name, ſhe may alſo be a *papiſt* in her heart; yet we ſee this illuſtrious and dangerous female openly careſſed by principal perſons of both parties; who contribute to ſupport her in a ſplendid manner, without the leaſt apprehenſions from a *grand-jury*, or even from 'ſquire *Hartley Hutcheſon* himſelf, that *zealous proſecutor of hawkers and libels*. And, as *Hobbes* wiſely obſerves, *ſo much money* being equivalent to *ſo much power*, it may deſerve conſidering, with what ſafety ſuch an inſtrument of *power* ought to be truſted in the hands of an *alien*, who hath not given any legal ſecurity for her good affection to the government.

I confeſs, there is one evil which I could wiſh our friends would think proper to redreſs. There are many *whigs* in this kingdom of the *old-faſhion'd ſtamp*, of whom we might make very good uſe; they bear the ſame loyalty with us to the *Hanoverian* family in the perſon of king *George* the II^d. The

ſame abhorrence of the *pretender*, with the conſequences of *popery* and *ſlavery*, and the ſame indulgence to *tender conſciences:* but having nothing to aſk for themſelves, and therefore the more leiſure to think for the publick, they are often apt to entertain fears and melancholy proſpects concerning the ſtate of their country, the decay of trade, the want of money, the miſerable condition of the people, with other topicks of the like nature; all which do equally concern both *whig* and *tory*; who, if they have any thing to loſe, muſt be equally ſufferers. Perhaps, one or two of theſe melancholy gentlemen will ſometimes venture to publiſh their thoughts in print: now I can by no means approve our uſual cuſtom of curſing and railing at this ſpecies of thinkers, under the names of *tories*, *jacobites*, *papiſts*, *libellers*, *rebels*, and the like.

This was the utter ruin of that poor, angry, buſtling, well-meaning mortal *Piſtorides*; who lies equally under the contempt of both parties; with no other difference than a mixture of *pity*

on one ſide, and of *averſion* on the other.

How hath he been pelted, peſtered, and pounded by one ſingle wag, who promiſeth never to forſake him, living or dead?

I was much pleaſed with the humour of a *ſurgeon* in this town; who having, in his own apprehenſion, received ſome great injuſtice from the earl of *Galway*, and deſpairing of revenge as well as relief, delared to all his friends, that he had ſet a-part one hundred guineas, to purchaſe the earl's carcaſe from the ſexton, whenever *it* ſhould dye, to make a ſkeleton of the bones, ſtuff the hide, and ſhew them for three-pence; and thus get vengeance for the injuries he had ſuffered by its owner.

Of the like ſpirit too often is that implacable race of wits; againſt whom there is no defence but innocence and philoſophy, neither of which is likely to be at hand; and therefore the wounded have no where to fly for a cure, but to down-right ſtupidity, a crazed head,

or a profligate contempt of guilt and ſhame.

I am therefore ſorry for that other miſerable creature *Traulus*; who, although of ſomewhat a different ſpecies, yet ſeems very far to outdo even the genius of *Piſtorides* in that miſcarrying talent of railing without conſiſtency or diſcretion againſt the moſt innocent perſons, according to the preſent ſituation of his gall and ſpleen. I do not blame an *honeſt* gentleman for the bittereſt invectives againſt one to whom he profeſſeth the greateſt friendſhip; provided he acts in the dark, ſo as not to be diſcovered: but in the midſt of *careſſes*, *viſits*, and *invitations*, to run into the ſtreets, or to as *public a place*, and without the leaſt pretended incitement ſputter out the baſeſt and falſeſt accuſations; then to wipe his mouth, come up ſmiling to his friend, ſhake him by the hand, and tell him in a whiſper, it was *all for his ſervice:* this proceeding I am bold to think a great failure in prudence: and I am afraid leſt ſuch a practitioner, with a body ſo *open*, ſo *foul*, and

and ſo *full of ſores*, may fall under the reſentment of an incenſed political *ſurgeon*, who is not in much renown for his mercy upon great provocation: who, without waiting for his death, will *flay* and *diſſect* him alive; and to the view of mankind lay open all the diſordered cells of his brain, the venom of his tongue, the corruption of his heart, and ſpots and flatus's of his ſpleen: and all this for *three-pence*.

In ſuch a caſe what a ſcene would be laid open! and, to drop my metaphor, what a character of our miſtaking friend might an angry enemy draw and expoſe! particularizing that unnatural conjunction of vices and follies ſo inconſiſtent with each other in the ſame breaſt; furious and fawning, ſcurrilous and flattering, cowardly and provoking, inſolent and abject; moſt profligately falſe, with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of ſincerity; poſitive and variable, tyrannical and ſlaviſh.

I apprehend, that if all this ſhould be ſet out to the world by an angry whig of the *old* ſtamp, the unavoidable conſequence

ſequence muſt be a confinement of our *friend* for ſome months *more* to his garret; and thereby depriving the publick for ſo long a time, and in ſo *important a juncture*, of his uſeful talents in their ſervice, while he is fed like a wild beaſt through a hole; but I hope with a ſpecial regard to the *quantity* and *quality* of his nouriſhment.

In vain would his excuſers endeavour to palliate his enormities, by imputing them to madneſs; becauſe it is well known that madneſs only operates by inflaming and enlarging the good or evil diſpoſitions of the mind. For the *curators* of *Bedlam* aſſure us, that ſome lunaticks are perſons of *honour*, *truth*, *benevolence*, and many other virtues, which appear in their higheſt ravings, although after a wild incoherent manner; while others on the contrary diſcover in every word and action the utmoſt *baſeneſs* and depravity of human minds; which infallibly they poſſeſſed in the ſame degree, although perhaps under a better regulation, before their entrance into that *academy*.

But

But it may be objected, that there is an argument of much force to excuſe the overflowings of that zeal which our *friend* ſhews or means for our cauſe. And it muſt be confeſſed, that the *eaſy and ſmooth fluency of his elocution, beſtowed on him by nature, and cultivated by continual practice*, added to the *comelineſs of his perſon*, the *harmony of his voice*, the *gracefulneſs of his manner*, and the *decency of his dreſs*, are temptations too ſtrong for ſuch a genius to reſiſt upon any public occaſion of making them appear with *univerſal applauſe*. And if good men are ſometimes accuſed of loving their *jeſt* better than their *friend*; ſurely to gain the reputation of the firſt *orator* in the kingdom, no man of ſpirit would ſcruple to loſe all the *friends* he had in the world.

It is uſual for maſters to make their boys declaim on both ſides of an argument; and as ſome kinds of aſſemblies are called the *ſchools of politicks*, I confeſs nothing can better improve political ſchool-boys, than the art of making plauſible or implauſible harangues againſt

gainſt the very opinion for which they reſolve to determine.

So cardinal *Perron*, after having ſpoke for an hour to the admiration of all his hearers to prove the exiſtence of God, told ſome of his intimates, that he could have ſpoken another hour, and much better, to prove the contrary.

I have placed this reaſoning in the ſtrongeſt light that I think it will bear; and have nothing to anſwer, but that, allowing it as much weight as the reader ſhall pleaſe, it hath conſtantly met with ill ſucceſs in the mouth of our *friend*; but whether for want of good luck, or good management, I ſuſpend my judgment.

To return from this long digreſſion; if perſons in high ſtations have *been allowed* to chuſe *wenches* without regard even to difference in religion, *yet* never *incurred* the leaſt reflexion on their loyalty, or their proteſtantiſm; ſhall the chief governor of a great kingdom be cenſured for chuſing a *companion*, who may formerly have been ſuſpected for differing from the *orthodox* in ſome ſpeculative

culative opinions of perſons and things, which cannot affect the fundamental principles of a ſound *whig?*

But let me ſuppoſe a very poſſible caſe. Here is a perſon ſent to govern *Ireland*, whoſe unfortunate weak ſide it happens to be, for ſeveral reaſons above-mentioned, that he hath encouraged the attendance of *one* or *two* gentlemen diſtinguiſhed for their taſte, their wit, and their learning; who have taken the oaths to his majeſty, and pray heartily for him: yet, becauſe they may perhaps be ſtigmatized as *quondam* tories by *Piſtorides* and his gang, his excellency muſt be forced to baniſh them, under the pain and peril of diſpleaſing the zealots of his own party; and thereby be put into a worſe condition than every common good fellow, who may be a ſincere *proteſtant* and a loyal ſubject, and yet rather chuſe to drink fine ale at the *pope's* head, than muddy at the *king's*.

Let me then return to my ſuppoſitions. It is certain, the high-flown loyaliſts in the *preſent* ſenſe of the word have their thoughts, and ſtudies, and tongues, ſo entirely

entirely diverted by political ſchemes, that the *zeal* of their *principles* hath *eaten* up their *underſtandings*; neither have they time from their employments, their hopes, and their hourly labours for acquiring new additions of merit, to amuſe themſelves with philological converſe or ſpeculations, which are utterly ruinous to all ſchemes of riſing in the world. What then muſt a great man do, whoſe ill ſtars have fatally perverted him to a love and taſte, and poſſeſſion of literature, politeneſs, and good ſenſe? Our thorough-ſped republick of whigs, which contains the bulk of all *hopers*, *pretenders*, *expecters*, and *profeſſors*, are beyond all doubt moſt *highly uſeful* to princes, to governors, to great miniſters, and to their country; but at the ſame time, and by neceſſary conſequence, the moſt diſagreeable companions to all who have that unfortunate turn of mind peculiar to his excellency, and perhaps to five or ſix more in a nation.

I do not deny it poſſible, that an original or proſelyte favourite of the times might have been born to thoſe uſeleſs talents,

talents, which in former ages qualified a man to be a poet or a philoſopher. All I contend for is, that where the true genius of party once enters, *it ſweeps the houſe clean*, and leaves room for many *other ſpirits* to take joint poſſeſſion, until the *laſt ſtate of that man is exceedingly* better *than the firſt.*

I allow it a great error in his excellency, that he adheres ſo obſtinately to his old *unfaſhionable* academic education; yet ſo perverſe is human nature, that the uſual remedies for this evil in others have produced a contrary effect in him; to a degree, that I am credibly informed, he will, as I have already hinted, in the middle of a ſeſſion, quote paſſages out of *Plato* and *Pindar* at his own table to ſome *book-learned* companion without bluſhing, even when perſons of *great ſtations* are by.

I will venture one ſtep further; which is, freely to confeſs, that this miſtaken method of educating youth in the knowledge of ancient learning and language is too apt to ſpoil their *politicks* and *principles*; becauſe the doctrine and examples

amples of the books they read, teach them leſſons *directly contrary in every point* to the *preſent practice* of the world: and accordingly *Hobbes* moſt judiciouſly obſerves, that the writings of the *Greeks* and *Romans* made young men imbibe opinions againſt abſolute power in a prince, or even in a firſt *miniſter*, and to embrace notions of liberty and property.

It hath been therefore a great felicity in theſe kingdoms, that the heirs to titles and large eſtates have a weakneſs in their eyes, a tenderneſs in their conſtitutions; are not able to bear the pain and indignity of whipping; and, as the mother rightly expreſſes it, could never *take to their books*, yet are well enough qualified to ſign a receipt for half a year's rent, to put their names *(rightly ſpelt)* to a warrant, and to read pamphlets againſt *religion* and *high-flying*; whereby they fill their niches, and carry themſelves through the world with that dignity which beſt becomes a *ſenator* and a *'ſquire*.

I could heartily wiſh his excellency would

would be more condeſcending to the *genius* of the kingdom he governs; to the condition of the times, and to the nature of the ſtation he fills. Yet if it be true, what I have read in old *Engliſh* ſtory-books, that one *Ageſilaus* (no matter to the bulk of my readers whether I ſpell the name right or wrong) was caught by the *parſon of the pariſh* riding on a hobby-horſe with his children; that *Socrates* a heathen philoſopher was found dancing by himſelf at fourſcore; that a king called *Cæſar Auguſtus* (or ſome ſuch name) uſed to play with boys, whereof ſome might poſſibly be ſons of *tories*; and that two great men called *Scipio* and *Lælius*, (I forget their *chriſtian* names, and whether they were poets or generals) often played at *duck* and *drake* with ſmooth ſtones on a river: Now I ſay, if theſe facts be true (and the book where I found them is in print), I cannot imagine why our moſt zealous patriots may not a little indulge his excellency in an infirmity, which is not morally evil; provided he gives no public ſcandal; which is by all means to be

be avoided: I ſay, why he may not be indulged twice a week to converſe with one or two particular perſons; and let him and them conn over their old *exploded* readings together, after mornings ſpent in hearing and preſcribing *ways and means* from and to his *moſt obedient* politicians for the welfare of the kingdom; although the ſaid particular perſon, or perſons, may not have made ſo public a declaration of their political faith in all its parts, as the buſineſs of the nation requires: ſtill ſubmitting my opinion to that *happy majority*, which I am confident is *always in the right*; by whom the *liberty* of the ſubject hath been ſo frequently, ſo ſtrenuouſly, and ſo ſucceſsfully aſſerted; who by their wiſe counſels have made *commerce* to flouriſh, *money* to abound, inhabitants to increaſe, the value of lands and rents to riſe; and the whole iſland put on a new face of *plenty* and *proſperity*.

But, in order to clear his excellency more fully from this accuſation of ſhewing his favours to *high-flyers*, *tories*, and *jaco-*

obites, it will be neceſſary to come to rticulars.

The firſt perſon of a *tory* denomina-n, to whom his excellency gave any irks of his favour, was doctor *Thomas eridan*. It is to be obſerved, that this ppened ſo early in his excellency's vernment, as it may be juſtly ſuppoſ-he had not been informed of that ntleman's character upon ſo *danger-* an article. The doctor being well own, and diſtinguiſhed for his ſkill d ſucceſs in the education of youth yond moſt of his profeſſion for many irs paſt, was recommended to his cellency on the ſcore of his learning, d particularly for his knowledge in e *Greek* tongue; whereof, it ſeems, excellency is a great admirer, al-ough for what reaſons I could never agine. However, it is agreed on all nds, that his lordſhip was too eaſily evailed on by the doctor's requeſt, or leed rather from the bias of his own ture, to hear a tragedy acted in that *known* language by the doctor's lads, nich was written by ſome heathen au-

thor; but whether it contained any *tory* or *high-church* principles, muſt be left to the conſciences of the *boys*, the *doctor*, and his *excellency*; the *only* witneſſes in this caſe, whoſe teſtimonies can be depended upon.

It ſeems, his excellency (a thing never to be ſufficiently wonder'd at) was ſo pleaſed with his entertainment, that ſome time after he gave the doctor a church-living to the value of almoſt one hundred pounds a year, and made him one of his chaplains; from an *antiquated* notion, that good ſchool-maſters ought to be encouraged in every nation profeſſing civility and religion. Yet his excellency did not venture to make this bold ſtep without ſtrong recommendations from perſons of undoubted principles *fitted to the times*; who thought themſelves bound in juſtice, honour, and gratitude, to do the doctor a good office, in return for the care he had taken of their children, or of thoſe of their friends. Yet the cataſtrophe was terrible; for the doctor, in the height of his felicity and gratitude,

ng down to take poſſeſſion of his iſh, and furniſhed with a few led mons, whereof as it is to be ſuppoſed : number was very ſmall, having ne- ſerved a cure in the church; he ſtopt *Cork* to attend on his biſhop; and ng to church on the *Sunday* follow- ; was, according to the uſual civility country clergymen, invited by the niſter of the pariſh to ſupply the pul- . It *happened* to be the firſt of *guſt*; and the firſt of *Auguſt happen-* that year to light upon a *Sunday*: l it *happened* that the doctor's text s in theſe words; *Sufficient unto the is the evil thereof**: and laſtly, it *ppened* that ſome one perſon of the ngregation, whoſe loyalty made him tchful upon every appearance of dan- to his majeſty's perſon and govern- nt, when ſervice was over, gave the rm. Notice was immediately ſent to town; and by the zeal of one man *no large dimenſions of body or mind*, :h a clamour was raiſed, that we in

* The firſt of *Auguſt* is anniverſary of the *Hano-* *verian* family's acceſſion to the crown of *Great Britain*.

Dublin could apprehend no leſs than an invaſion by the *pretender*, who muſt be landed in the *ſouth*. The reſult was, that the doctor muſt be ſtruck out of the chaplains liſt, and appear no more at the caſtle; yet whether he were then, or be at this day, a *whig* or a *tory*, I think is a ſecret; only it is manifeſt, that he is a zealous *Hanoverian* at leaſt in poetry, and a great admirer of the preſent royal family through all its branches. His friends likewiſe aſſert, that he had preached this ſermon often under the ſame text; that not having obſerved the words, till he was in the pulpit, and had opened his notes, as he is a perſon a little abſtracted, he wanted preſence of mind to change them: and that in the whole ſermon there was not a ſyllable relating to government or party, or to the ſubject of the day.

In this incident there ſeems to have been an union of events, that will probably never happen again to the end of the world; or is, at leaſt, like the grand conjunction in the heavens; which, I think,

think, they ſay can arrive but once in twenty thouſand years.

The ſecond gentleman (if I am right in my chronology) who under the ſuſpicion of a *tory* received ſome favour from his excellency, is Mr. *James Stopford*; very ſtrongly recommended by the moſt eminent *whig* in *England*, on the account of his learning, and virtue, and other accompliſhments. He had paſſed the greateſt part of his youth in cloſe ſtudy, or in traveling, and was either not at home, or not at leiſure to trouble his thoughts about party; which I allow to be a great omiſſion, although I cannot honeſtly place him in the liſt of *tories*: and therefore think his excellency may be fairly acquitted for making him vicar of *Finglaſs*, worth about one hundred pounds a year.

The third is doctor *Patrick Delany*. This divine lies under ſome diſadvantage; having in his youth received many civilities from a certain * perſon, then in a very high ſtation here; for

* Sir *Conſtantine Phipps*, lord chancellor of *Ireland* when queen *Anne* died.

which reaſon I doubt the doctor never drank his confuſion ſince; and what makes the matter deſperate, it is now too late; unleſs our *inquiſitors* will be content with drinking *confuſion* to his *memory*. The aforeſaid eminent perſon, who was a judge of all merit except that of *party*, diſtinguiſhed the doctor among other juniors in our univerſity, for his learning, virtue, diſcretion, and good ſenſe. But the doctor was then in too good a ſituation at his college to hope or endeavour at a better eſtabliſhment from one who had no power to give it him.

Upon the preſent lord lieutenant's coming over, the doctor was named to his excellency by a *friend* * among other clergy of diſtinction, as perſons whoſe characters it was proper his excellency ſhould know; and by the truth of which the *giver* would be content to ſtand or fall in his excellency's opinion; ſince not one of thoſe perſons were in particular friendſhip with the *gentleman* who gave in their names. By this, and

* The author.

ſome

ſome other incidents, particularly the recommendation of the late archbiſhop of *Dublin*, the doctor became known to his excellency, whoſe fatal turn of mind towards *heatheniſh* and *outlandiſh* books and languages, finding as I conceive a like diſpoſition in the doctor, was the cauſe of his becoming ſo domeſtic, as we are told he is, at the caſtle of *Dublin*.

Three or four years ago, the doctor grown weary of an academic life, for ſome reaſons beſt known to the managers of the diſcipline in that learned ſociety (which it may not be for their honour to mention), reſolved to leave it; although, by the benefit of the pupils, and his ſenior fellowſhip, with all its perquiſites, he received every year between nine hundred and a thouſand pounds. And a ſmall northern living, in the univerſity's donation, of ſomewhat better than one hundred pounds a year, falling at the ſame time with the chancellorſhip of *Chriſt-Church*, to about equal the value, in the gift of

his excellency; the doctor ventured into the world in a very ſcanty condition; having ſquandered away all his annual income in a manner, which, although perhaps proper enough for a clergyman without a family, will not be for the advantage of his character to diſcover, either on the exchange or at a banker's ſhop.

About two months ago, his excellency gave the doctor a prebend in St. *Patrick's* cathedral; which being of near the ſame value with either of the two former, will add a third part to his revenues, after he ſhall have paid the great incumbrances upon it: ſo that he may now be ſaid to poſſeſs of church-preferments in ſcattered tithes three hundred pounds a year; inſtead of the like ſum of infallible rents from a ſenior fellowſhip, with the offices annexed; beſide the advantage of a free lodging, a great number of pupils, and ſome other eaſements.

But ſince the doctor hath not, in any of his writings, his ſermons, his actions,

his diſcourſe, or his company, diſcovered one ſingle principle of either *whig* or *tory*; and that the lord lieutenant ſtill continues to admit him; I ſhall boldly pronounce him ONE OF US: but, like a new *free-maſon*, who hath not yet learned all the dialect of the myſtery. Neither can he juſtly be accuſed of any *tory* doctrines; except perhaps ſome among thoſe few, with which that *wicked party* was charged during the height of their power, but have been ſince transferred, for the moſt *ſolid reaſons*, to the *whole body* of our firmeſt friends.

I have now done with the clergy: and, upon the ſtricteſt examination, have not been able to find above one of that order, againſt whom any *party* ſuſpicion can lie; I mean the unfortunate gentleman doctor *Sheridan*, who by mere chance-medley ſhot his own fortune dead with a ſingle *text*.

As to the laity, I can hear of but one perſon of the *tory* ſtamp, who ſince the beginning of his excellency's government

ment did ever receive any ſolid mark of his favour: I mean Sir *Arthur Acheſon*, reported to be an acknowledged *tory*; and, what is almoſt as bad, a *ſcholar* into the bargain. It is whiſpered about, as a certain truth, that this gentleman is to have a grant of a certain barrack * upon his eſtate within two miles of his own houſe; for which the crown is to be his tenant, at the rent of ſixty pounds *per annum*; he being only at the expence of about *five hundred* pounds, to put the houſe in repair, build ſtables, and other neceſſaries. I will place this *invidious* mark of beneficence conferred on a *tory* in a fair light, by computing the coſts and neceſſary defalcations: after which it may be ſeen how much Sir *Arthur* will be annually a clear gainer by the publick; notwithſtanding his *unfortunate* principles, and his knowledge in *Greek* and *Latin*.

* See a poem upon this incident called *Hamilton's bawn*, vol. vii.

For

For repairs, &c. 500*l.* the intereſt whereof *per ann.*	30	0	0
For all manner of poultry to furniſh the troopers, but which the ſaid troopers muſt be at the labour of catching, valued *per ann.*	5	0	0
For ſtraggling ſheep - - -	8	0	0
For game deſtroyed five miles round - - - - - -	6	0	0
	49	0	0
Rent paid to Sir *Arthur* -	60	0	0
Deduct - - -	49	0	0
Remains clear - -	11	0	0

Thus, if Sir *Arthur Acheſon* ſhall have the good fortune to obtain a grant of this barrack, he will receive *net* profit annually from the crown ELEVEN pounds *ſterling*, to help him in entertaining the officers, and making proviſions for his younger children.

It is true, there is another advantage to be expected, which may fully compenſate the loſs of cattle and poultry; by

by multiplying the breed of mankind, and particularly that of *good proteſtants*, in a part of the kingdom half depopulated by the wild humour among the farmers there of leaving their country. But I am not ſo ſkilful in arithmetick, as to compute the value.

I have reckoned one *per cent.* below the legal intereſt for the money that Sir *Arthur* muſt expend; and valued the damage in the other articles very moderately. However, I am confident he may with good management be a *ſaver* at leaſt; which is a *prodigious inſtance of moderation* in our friends towards a profeſſed *tory*; whatever merit he may pretend by the unwillingneſs he hath ſhewn to make his excellency uneaſy in his adminiſtration.

Thus I have, with the utmoſt impartiality, collected every ſingle favour (further than perſonal civilities) conferred by his excellency on *tories*, and reputed *tories*, ſince his firſt arrival hither, to this 30th day of *April*, in the year of our Lord 1730, giving all allowance poſſible

poſſible to the arguments on the other ſide of the queſtion: and the account will ſtand thus:

Diſpoſed of preferments and employments to *tories*, or reputed *tories*, by his excellency *John* lord *Carteret*, lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, in about the ſpace of ſix years:

To doctor *Thomas Sheridan*, in a rectory near *Kinſale*, *per annum*	100	0	0
To Sir *Arthur Acheſon*, baronet, a barrack, *per ann.*	11	0	0
	111	0	0

Give me leave now to compute in groſs the value of the favours done by his excellency to the *true friends* of their king and country, and of the *proteſtant religion*.

It is to be remembered, that, although his excellency cannot be properly ſaid to beſtow biſhopricks, commands in the army, the place of a judge, or commiſſioner in the revenue, and ſome others; yet

yet they are for the moſt part diſpoſed upon his recommendation, except where the perſons are immediately ſent from *England* by their intereſt at court; for which I have allowed great defalcations in the following accounts. And it is remarkable, that the *only* conſiderable ſtation conferred on a *tory* ſince his preſent excellency's government was of this *latter* kind.

And indeed it is but too notorious, that in a neighbouring nation (where this dangerous denomination of men is incomparably more numerous, more powerful, and of conſequence more formidable) *real tories* can often with much leſs difficulty obtain very high favours from the government, than their *reputed* brethren can arrive to the loweſt in ours. I obſerve this with all poſſible ſubmiſſion to the wiſdom of their policy; which however will not, I believe, diſpute the praiſe of vigilance with ours.

WHIG account.

To perſons promoted to biſhopricks, or removed to more beneficial ones, computed *per ann.*	10,050	0	0
To civil employments	9030	0	0
To military commands	8436	0	0
	27,516	0	0

TORY account.

To *tories* - - -	111	0	0
Balance - - - -	27,405	0	0

I ſhall conclude with this obſervation, that as I think the *tories* have ſufficient reaſon to be *fully ſatisfied* with the ſhare of *truſt*, *power*, and *employments*, which they poſſeſs under the *lenity* of the preſent government; ſo, I do not find how his excellency can be juſtly cenſured for favouring none but *high-church*, *high-flyers*, *termagants*, *laudiſts*, *ſacheverellians*, *tip-top-gallon-men*, *jacobites*, *tantivys*, *anti-hanoverians*, *friends to popery and the pretender and to arbitrary power*, *diſcbligers of* England, *breakers*

breakers of DEPENDENCY, *inflamers of quarrels between the two nations, public incendiaries, enemies to the king and kingdoms, haters of* TRUE *proteſtants, laurel-men, anniſts, complainers of the nation's poverty, ormondians, iconoclaſts, anti-glorious-memoriſts, anti-revolutioners, white-roſaliſts, tenth-a-junians*, and the like, when, by a fair ſtate of the account, the balance, I conceive, *ſeems to lie* on the other ſide.

CON-

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON

TWO BILLS

Sent down from the Right Honourable the Houſe of LORDS to the Honourable the Houſe of COMMONS in *Ireland* relating to the CLERGY.

Written in the Year 1731.

I HAVE often for above a month paſt deſired ſome few clergymen, who are pleaſed to viſit me, that they would procure an extract of two BILLS brought into the council by ſome of the biſhops, and both of them ſince paſſed in the *houſe of lords*: but I could never obtain what I deſired, whether by the forgetfulneſs or negligence of thoſe whom I employed, or the difficulty of the thing itſelf. Therefore, if I ſhall happen to miſtake in any fact of conſequence, I deſire my remarks upon it may paſs for nothing; for my information is no better than what I received in words from ſeveral divines, who ſeemed to agree with

each other. I have not the honour to be acquainted with any one ſingle *prelate* of the kingdom; and am a ſtranger to their *characters*, further than as common fame reports them, which is not to be depended on: therefore I cannot be ſuppoſed to act upon a principle of reſentment. I eſteem their functions (if I may be allowed to ſay ſo without offence) as truly *apoſtolical*, and abſolutely neceſſary to the perfection of a *Chriſtian church*.

There are no qualities more incident to the frailty and corruptions of human kind, than an indifference or inſenſibility for other men's ſufferings, and a ſudden forgetfulneſs of their own former humble ſtate, when they riſe in the world. Theſe two diſpoſitions have not, I think, any where ſo ſtrongly exerted themſelves, as in the order of biſhops with regard to the inferior clergy; for which I can find no reaſons, but ſuch as naturally ſhould ſeem to operate a quite contrary way. The maintenance of the clergy throughout the kingdom is precarious and uncertain, collected from a moſt

moſt miſerable race of beggarly farmers; at whoſe mercy every *miniſter* lies to be defrauded. His office as *rector*, or *vicar*, if it be duely executed, is very laborious. As ſoon as he is promoted to a *biſhoprick*, the ſcene is entirely and happily changed; his revenues are large, and as ſurely paid as thoſe of the *king*; his whole buſineſs is once a year to receive the attendance, the ſubmiſſion, and the proxy-money of all his clergy, in whatever part of the dioceſe he ſhall pleaſe to think moſt convenient for himſelf. Neither is his perſonal preſence neceſſary, for the buſineſs may be done by a *vicar-general*. The fatigue of ordination is juſt what the biſhops pleaſe to make it; and as matters have been for ſome time, and may probably remain, the fewer ordinations the better. The reſt of their viſible office conſiſts in the honour of attending parliaments and councils, and beſtowing preferments in their own gift; in which laſt employment, and in their ſpiritual and temporal courts, the labour falls to their *vicars-general*, *ſecretaries*, *proctors*, *apparitors*,

ſeneſchals, and the like. Now, I ſay, in ſo quick a change, whereby their brethren in a few days are become their ſubjects, it would be reaſonable at leaſt to hope that the labour, confinement, and ſubjection, from which they have ſo lately eſcaped, *like a bird out of the ſnare of the fowler*, might a little incline them to remember the condition of thoſe who were but laſt week their equals, probably their companions or their friends, and poſſibly as reaſonable expectants. There is a known ſtory of colonel *Tidcomb*, who, while he continued a ſubaltern officer, was every day complaining againſt the pride, oppreſſion, and hard treatment of *colonels* towards their *officers*; yet in a very few minutes after he had received his commiſſion for a regiment, walking with a friend on the *mall*, he confeſſed that the ſpirit of colonelſhip was coming faſt upon him, which ſpirit is ſaid to have daily increaſed to the hour of his death.

It is true, the clergy of this kingdom, who are promoted to *biſhopricks*, have always ſome great advantages; either that

that of rich deanries, opulent and multiplied rectories and dignities, ſtrong alliances by birth or marriage, fortified by a ſuperlative degree of zeal and loyalty: but however, they were all at firſt no more than young beginners; and before their great promotion were known by their plain *Chriſtian* names among their old companions, the middling rate of *clergymen*; nor could therefore be ſtrangers to their condition, or with any good grace forget it ſo ſoon, as it hath too often happened.

I confeſs, I do not remember to have obſerved any body of men acting with ſo little concert, as our *clergy* have done in a point where their opinions appeared to be unanimous: a point wherein their whole temporal ſupport was concerned, as well as their power of ſerving God and his church in their ſpiritual functions. This hath been imputed to their fear of diſobliging, or hopes of further favours upon compliance; becauſe it was obſerved, that ſome who appeared at firſt with the greateſt zeal, thought fit ſuddenly to

abſent themſelves from the uſual meetings: yet we know what expert *ſolicitors* the *quakers*, the *diſſenters*, and even the *papiſts* have ſometimes found, to drive a point of advantage, or prevent an impending evil.

I have not ſeen any extract from the two bills introduced by the biſhops into the privy council; where the clergy, upon ſome failure in favour, or through the timorouſneſs of many among their brethren, were refuſed to be heard by the council. It ſeems, theſe bills were both returned, agreed to by the king and council in *England*, and the *houſe of lords* hath with great expedition paſſed them both; and it is ſaid, they are immediately to be ſent down to the *commons* for their conſent.

The particulars, as they have been imperfectly reported to me, are as follow:

By one of the bills, the biſhops have power to oblige the country clergy to build a manſion-houſe upon whatever part of their glebes their lordſhips ſhall command; and if the living be above

50*l.*

50 *l.* a year, the miniſter is bound to build after three years a houſe that ſhall coſt one year and a half's rent of his income. For inſtance, if a clergyman with a wife and ſeven children gets a living of 55 *l. per annum*, he muſt after three years build a houſe that ſhall coſt 77 *l.* 10 *s.* and muſt ſupport his family, during the time the biſhop ſhall appoint for the building of it, with the remainder. But if the living be under 50 *l.* a year, the miniſter ſhall be allowed 100 *l.* out of the firſt fruits.

But there is ſaid to be one circumſtance a little extraordinary; that if there be a ſingle ſpot in the glebe more barren, more marſhy, more expoſed to the winds, more diſtant from the church or ſkeleton of a church, or from any conveniency of building; the rector or vicar may be obliged, by the caprice or pique of the biſhop, to build, under pain of ſequeſtration (an office which ever falls into the moſt knaviſh hands), upon whatever point his *lordſhip* ſhall command; although the farmers have not paid one quarter of his dues.

I believe, under the preſent diſtreſſes of the kingdom (which inevitably without a miracle muſt increaſe for ever), there are not ten country clergymen in *Ireland*, reputed to poſſeſs a pariſh of 100 *l. per annum*, who for ſome years paſt have actually received 60 *l.* and that with the utmoſt difficulty and vexation, I am therefore at a loſs what kind of valuators the *biſhops* will make uſe of; and whether the ſtarving *vicar* ſhall be forced to build his houſe with the money he never received.

The other bill, which paſſed in two days after the former, is ſaid to concern the diviſion of pariſhes into as many parcels as the *biſhop* ſhall think fit, only leaving 300 *l.* a year to the *mother* church; which 300 *l.* by another *act* paſſed ſome years ago, they can divide likewiſe, and crumble as low as their will and pleaſure will diſpoſe them. So that inſtead of ſix hundred clergymen, which, I think, is the uſual computation, we may have in a ſmall compaſs of years almoſt as many thouſands to live with decency and comfort, provide for their children, be charitable

charitable to the poor, and maintain hoſpitality.

But it is very reaſonable to hope, and heartily to be wiſhed by all thoſe who have the leaſt regard to our holy religion as hitherto eſtabliſhed, or to a learned pious diligent converſable *clergyman*, or even to common humanity, that the *honourable houſe of commons* will, in their great wiſdom, juſtice, and tenderneſs to innocent men, conſider theſe bills in another light. It is ſaid, they well know this kingdom not to be ſo over-ſtocked with neighbouring gentry, but a diſcreet learned *clergyman*, with a competency fit for one of his education, may be an entertaining, a uſeful, and ſometimes a neceſſary companion. That, although ſuch a clergyman may not be able conſtantly to find *beef* and *wine* for his own family, yet he may be allowed ſometimes to afford both to a neighbour without diſtreſſing himſelf; and the rather, becauſe he may expect at leaſt as good a return. It will probably be conſidered, that in many deſolate parts there may not be always a ſufficient

ſufficient number of perſons conſiderable enough to be truſted with *commiſſions of the peace*, which ſeveral of the *clergy* now ſupply much better than a little, hedge, contemptible, illiterate *vicar* from twenty to fifty pounds a year, the ſon of a *weaver*, *pedlar*, *taylor*, or *miller*, can be preſumed to do.

The landlords and farmers by this ſcheme can find no profit, but will certainly be loſers. For inſtance, if the large northern livings be ſplit into a dozen pariſhes or more, it will be very neceſſary for the little threadbare *gownman*, with his wife, his proctor, and every child who can crawl, to watch the fields at harveſt time, for fear of loſing a ſingle ſheaf, which he could not afford under peril of a day's ſtarving: for, according to the *Scotch* proverb, *a hungry louſe bites ſore*. This would of neceſſity breed an infinite number of wrangles and litigious ſuits in the ſpiritual courts; and put the wretched *paſtor* at perpetual variance with his whole pariſh. But, as they have hithertoo ſtood, a clergyman eſtabliſhed in a competent living

living is not under the neceſſity of being ſo ſharp, vigilant, and exacting. On the contrary, it is well known and allowed, that the clergy round the kingdom think themſelves well treated, if they loſe only one ſingle third of their legal demands.

The honourable houſe may perhaps be inclined to conceive, that my *lords* the *biſhops* enjoy as ample a power, both ſpiritual and temporal, as will fully ſuffice to anſwer every branch of their office; that they want no laws to regulate the conduct of thoſe clergymen over whom they preſide; that, if non-reſidence be a grievance, it is the patron's fault, who makes not a better choice, or cauſed the plurality. That, if the general impartial character of perſons choſen into the church had been more regarded, and the motive of *party*, *alliance*, *kindred*, *flatterers*, *ill-judgement*, or *perſonal favour*, regarded leſs, there would be fewer complaints of non-reſidence, want of care, blameable behaviour, or any other part of miſconduct;

duct; not to mention *ignorance* and *ſtupidity*.

I could name certain gentlemen of the *gown*, whoſe aukward, ſpruce, prim, ſneering, and ſmirking countenances, the very tone of their voices, and an ungainly ſtrut in their walk, without one ſingle talent for any one office, have contrived to get good preferment by the mere force of *flattery* and *cringing*: for which two virtues (the only two virtues they pretend to) they were, however, utterly unqualified: and whom, if I were in power, although they were my *nephews*, or had married my *nieces*, I could never in point of good conſcience or honour have recommended to a *curacy* in *Connaught*.

The *honourable houſe of commons* may likewiſe perhaps conſider, that the gentry of this kingdom differ from all others upon earth, being leſs capable of employments in their own country, than any others who come from abroad; and, that moſt of them have little expectation of providing for their younger children

children otherwiſe than by the church, in which there might be ſome hopes of getting a tolerable maintenance. For after the patrons ſhould have ſettled their *ſons*, their *nephews*, their *nieces*, their *dependents*, and their *followers* invited over from the other ſide, there would ſtill remain an overplus of ſmaller church preferments to be given to ſuch clergy of the nation, who ſhall have their *quantum* of whatever merit may be then in faſhion. But by theſe bills they will be all as abſolutely excluded as if they had paſſed under the denomination of *tories*; unleſs they can be contented at the utmoſt with 50*l.* a year; which, by the difficulties of collecting tithes in *Ireland*, and the daily increaſing miſeries of the people, will hardly riſe to half that ſum.

It is obſerved, that the *divines* ſent over hither to govern this church have not ſeemed to conſider the difference between both kingdoms with reſpect to the inferior *clergy*. As to themſelves indeed, they find a large revenue in lands let at one quarter value, which conſequently

quently muſt be paid while there is a penny left among us; and the public diſtreſs ſo little affects their intereſts, that their fines are now higher than ever: they content themſelves to ſuppoſe, that whatever a pariſh is ſaid to be worth comes all into the *parſon's* pocket.

The poverty of great numbers among the clergy of *England* hath been the continual complaint of all men who wiſh well to the church, and many ſchemes have been thought on to redreſs it; yet an *Engliſh vicar* of 40 *l.* a year lives much more comfortably than one of double the value in *Ireland.* His farmers, generally ſpeaking, are able and willing to pay him his full dues: he hath a decent church of ancient ſtanding, filled every *Lord's day* with a large congregation of plain people, well clad, and behaving themſelves as if they believed in GOD and CHRIST. He hath a houſe and barn in repair, a field or two to graze his cows, with a garden and orchard. No gueſt expects more from him than a pot of ale: he lives like an honeſt plain farmer, as his wife is dreſſed

but

but little better than *goody*. He is ſometimes graciouſly invited by the 'ſquire, where he ſits at an humble diſtance: if he gets the love of his people, they often make him little uſeful preſents: he is happy by being born to no higher expectation; for he is uſually the ſon of ſome ordinary tradeſman, or middling farmer. His learning is much of a ſize with his birth and education; no more of either than what a poor hungry *ſervitor* can be expected to bring with him from his *college*. It would be tedious to ſhew the reverſe of all this in our diſtant poorer pariſhes through moſt parts of *Ireland*, wherein every reader may make the compariſon.

Laſtly, the *honourable houſe of commons* may conſider, whether the ſcheme of multiplying beggarly *clergymen* through the whole kingdom, who muſt all have votes for chooſing parliament men (provided they can prove their freeholds to be worth 40*s*. *per annum*, *ultra repriſas*), may not, by their numbers, have great influence upon *elections*; being entirely under the dependence of their *biſhops*.

ſhops. For by a moderate computation, after all the diviſions and ſubdiviſions of pariſhes, that my *lords* the *biſhops* have power to make by their new laws, there will, as ſoon as the preſent ſett of clergy goes off, be raiſed an army of *eccleſiaſtical militants*, able enough for any kind of ſervice except that of the altar.

I am indeed in ſome concern about a fund for building a thouſand or two churches, wherein theſe probationers may read their *wall lectures*; and begin to doubt they muſt be contented with *barns*; which *barns* will be one great advancing ſtep towards an accommodation with our *true proteſtant brethren*, the *diſſenters*.

The ſcheme of encouraging *clergymen* to build houſes, by dividing a living of 500 *l.* a year into ten parts, is a contrivance, the meaning whereof hath got on the wrong ſide of my comprehenſion; unleſs it may be argued, that *biſhops* build no houſes, becauſe they are ſo rich; and therefore the inferior *clergy* will certainly build, if you reduce them to beggary. But I knew a very rich

man of quality in *England*, who could never be perſuaded to keep a *ſervant* out of *livery*; becauſe ſuch ſervants would be expenſive, and apt in time to look like gentlemen; whereas the others were ready to ſubmit to the baſeſt offices, and at a cheaper pennyworth might increaſe his retinue.

I hear, it is the opinion of many wiſe men, that before theſe bills paſs both houſes, they ſhould be ſent back to *England*, with the following clauſes inſerted.

Firſt, that whereas there may be about a dozen double *biſhopricks* in *Ireland*, thoſe *biſhopricks* ſhould be ſplit and given to different perſons; and thoſe of a ſingle denomination be alſo divided into two, three, or four parts, as occaſion ſhall require; otherwiſe there may be a queſtion ſtarted, whether twenty-two *prelates* can effectually extend their paternal care, and unlimited power, for the protection and correction of ſo great a number of ſpiritual *ſubjects*. But this propoſal will meet with ſuch furious objections, that

I ſhall not inſiſt upon it: for I well remember to have read, what a terrible fright the *frogs* were in upon a report that the *ſun* was going to marry.

Another clauſe ſhould be, that none of theſe twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty pounders may be ſuffered to marry, under the penalty of immediate deprivation; their marriages declared *null*, and their children baſtards: for ſome deſponding people take the kingdom to be in no condition of encouraging ſo numerous a breed of beggars.

A third clauſe will be neceſſary, that theſe humble gentry ſhould be abſolutely diſqualified from giving votes in *elections* for *parliament men*.

Others add a fourth; which is a clauſe of indulgence, that theſe reduced *divines* may be permitted to follow any lawful ways of living, which will not call them too often or too far from their ſpiritual offices (for, unleſs I miſapprehend, they are ſuppoſed to have *epiſcopal ordination*). For example; they may be lappers of linen, bailiffs of the manor; they may let blood

or

or apply plaſters for three miles round: they may get a diſpenſation to hold the *clerkſhip* and *ſextonſhip* of their own pariſh *in commendam*. Their wives and daughters may make ſhirts for the neighbourhood; or, if a *barrack* be near, for the *ſoldiers*: in linen countries they may *card* and *ſpin*, and keep a few looms in the houſe: they may let lodgings, and ſell a pot of ale without doors, but not at home, unleſs to ſober company, and at regular hours. It is by ſome thought a little hard, that, in an affair of the laſt conſequence to the very being of the *clergy* in the points of liberty and property, as well as in their abilities to perform their duty, this whole reverend body, who are the eſtabliſhed inſtructors of the nation in Chriſtianity and moral virtues, and are the only perſons concerned, ſhould be the ſole perſons not conſulted. Let any ſcholar ſhew the like precedent in *Chriſtendom* for twelve hundred years paſt. An act of parliament for ſettling or ſelling an eſtate in a private family is never paſſed, until all parties give con-

ſent. But in the preſent caſe the whole body of the *clergy* is, as themſelves apprehend, determined to utter ruin without once expecting or aſking their opinion; and this by a ſcheme contrived only by *one part* of the *convocation*, while the other part, which hath been choſen in the uſual forms, wants only the regal permiſſion to aſſemble, and conſult about the affairs of the church, as their predeceſſors have always done in former ages: where, it is preſumed, the *lower houſe* hath a power of propoſing canons, and a negative voice, as well as the upper. And God forbid (ſay theſe objectors) that there ſhould be a real ſeparate intereſt between the biſhops and clergy, any more than there is between a man and his wife, a king and his people, or CHRIST and his church.

It ſeems there is a proviſion in the bill, that no pariſh ſhall be cut into ſcraps without the conſent of ſeveral perſons, who can be no ſufferers in the matter; but I cannot find that the *clergy* lay much weight on this caution;

tion; becauſe they argue, that the very perſons from whom theſe bills took their riſe, will have the greateſt ſhare in the deciſion.

I do not by any means conceive the crying ſin of the *clergy* in this kingdom to be that of *non-reſidence*. I am ſure, it is many degrees leſs ſo here than in *England*, unleſs the poſſeſſion of pluralities may paſs under that name; and if this be a fault, it is well known to whom it muſt be imputed: I believe, upon a fair enquiry (and I hear an enquiry is to be made), they will appear to be moſt pardonably few; eſpecially, conſidering how many pariſhes have not an inch of *glebe*, and how difficult it is upon any reaſonable terms to find a place of habitation. And therefore, God knows whether my *lords the biſhops* will be ſoon able to convince the *clergy*, or thoſe who have any regard for that venerable body, that the chief motive in their *lordſhips* minds by procuring theſe bills was to prevent the ſin of *non-reſidence*; while the univerſal opi-

nion of almoſt every *clergyman* in the kingdom, without diſtinction of party, taking in even thoſe who are not likely to be ſufferers, ſtands directly againſt them.

If ſome livings in the *north* may be juſtly thought too large a compaſs of land, which makes it inconvenient for the remoteſt inhabitants to attend the ſervice of the church, which in ſome inſtances may be true, no reaſonable *clergyman* would oppoſe a proper remedy by particular acts of parliament.

Thus, for inſtance, the *deanry of Down*, a country *deanry* I think without a cathedral, depending wholly upon an union of pariſhes joined together in a time when the land lay waſte and thinly inhabited, ſince thoſe circumſtances are ſo prodigiouſly changed for the better, may properly be leſſened, leaving a decent competency to the *dean*, and placing *rectories* in the remaining churches, which are now ſerved only by ſtipendiary *curates*.

The caſe may be probably the ſame

in other parts: and ſuch a proceeding diſcreetly managed would be truly for the good of the church.

For it is to be obſerved, that the dean and chapter lands, which in *England* were all ſeized under the fanatic uſurpation, are things unknown in *Ireland*, having been long raviſhed from the church by a ſucceſſion of confuſions, and tithes applied in their ſtead to ſupport that eccleſiaſtical dignity.

The late * *archbiſhop of Dublin* had a very different way of encouraging the *clergy* of his dioceſe to reſidence: when a leaſe had run out ſeven years or more, he ſtipulated with the tenant to reſign up twenty or thirty acres to the miniſter of the pariſh where it lay convenient, without leſſening his former rent, and with no great abatement of the fine; and this he did in the parts near *Dublin*, where land is at the higheſt rates, leaving a ſmall chiefry for the miniſter to pay, hardly a ſixth part of the value. I doubt not, that almoſt every *biſhop* in the kingdom may do

* The right reverend Dr. WILLIAM KING.

the ſame generous act with leſs damage to their ſees than his late *grace of Dublin*; much of whoſe lands were out in fee-farms, or leaſes for lives; and I am ſorry that the good example of ſuch a *prelate* hath not been followed.

But a great majority of the *clergy's* friends cannot hitherto reconcile themſelves to this project; which they call a *leveling principle*, that muſt inevitably root out the ſeeds of all honeſt emulation, the legal parent of the greateſt virtue and moſt generous actions among men; but which in the general opinion (for I do not pretend to offer my own) will never more have room to exert itſelf in the breaſt of any *clergyman* whom this kingdom ſhall produce.

But, whether the conſequences of theſe bills may, by the virtues and frailties of future *biſhops* ſent over hither to rule the church, terminate in good or evil, I ſhall not preſume to determine, ſince God can work the *former* out of the *latter*. However, one thing I can venture to aſſert; that from the earlieſt ages of Chriſtianity to the minute I am

now

now writing, there never was a precedent of ſuch a proceeding, much leſs was it to be feared, hoped, or apprehended, from ſuch hands in any Chriſtian country; and ſo it may paſs for more than a *phœnix*; becauſe it hath riſen without any aſſiſtance from the *aſhes* of its *fire*.

The appearance of ſo many *diſſenters* at the hearing of this cauſe is what, I am told, hath not been charged to the account of their prudence or moderation; becauſe that action hath been cenſured as a mark of *triumph* and inſult before the *victory* is complete: ſince neither of theſe bills hath yet paſſed the *houſe of commons*, and ſome are pleaſed to think it not impoſſible that they may be * rejected. Neither do I hear, that there is an enacting clauſe in either of the bills to apply any part of the divided or ſub-divided tithes towards increaſing the ſtipends of the *ſectaries*. So that theſe gentlemen ſeem to be gratified like him, who after hav-

* They were rejected in the *houſe of commons* by a great majority.

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ing been kicked down ſtairs took comfort, when he ſaw his friend kicked down after him.

I have heard many more objections againſt ſeveral particulars of both theſe bills; but they are of a high nature, and carry ſuch dreadful *innuendos*, that I dare not mention them, reſolving to give no offence, becauſe I well know how obnoxious I have long been (although I conceive without any fault of my own) to the zeal and principles of thoſe who place all difference in opinion concerning public matters to the ſcore of *diſaffection*; whereof I am at leaſt as innocent as the loudeſt of my *detractors*.

Dublin, Feb. 24,
1731-2.

A PRO-

A

PROPOSAL

FOR AN

ACT OF PARLIAMENT

To pay off the DEBT *of the Nation, without Taxing the* Subject;

By which the Number of landed Gentry and ſubſtantial Farmers will be conſiderably increaſed, and no Perſon will be the poorer, or contribute one Farthing to the Charge. *

Written in the year 1732.

THE debts contracted ſome years paſt for the ſervice and ſafety of the nation are grown ſo great, that under our preſent diſtreſſed condition, by the want of trade, the great remittances to pay *abſentees*, regiments ſerving abroad, and many other drains of money well enough known and felt, the kingdom ſeems altogether unable to diſcharge

* The reader will perceive the following treatiſe to be altogether ironical.

them by the common methods of payment: and either a *poll* or *land tax* would be too odious to think of, eſpecially the latter; becauſe the lands, which have been let for theſe ten or dozen years paſt, were raiſed ſo high, that the owner can at preſent hardly receive any rent at all. For it is the uſual practice of an *Iriſh* tenant, rather than want land, to offer more for a farm than he knows he can be ever able to pay; and in that caſe he grows deſperate, and pays nothing at all. So that a *land tax* upon a rack'd eſtate would be a burthen wholly inſupportable.

The queſtion will then be, how theſe national debts can be paid; and how I can make good the ſeveral particulars of my propoſal; which I ſhall now lay open to the publick.

The revenues of their graces and lordſhips the archbiſhops and biſhops of this kingdom (excluding the fines) do amount by a moderate computation to 36,800*l. per ann.* I mean the rents which the biſhops receive from their tenants. But the real value of thoſe lands

lands at a full rent, taking the ſeveral ſees one with another, is reckoned to be at leaſt three fourths more; ſo that, multiplying 36,800*l.* by 4, the full rent of all the biſhops lands will amount to 147,200*l. per ann.* from which ſubtracting the preſent rent received by their lordſhips, that is 36,800*l.* the profits of the lands received by the firſt and ſecond tenants (who both have great bargains), will riſe to the ſum of 110,400*l. per ann.* which lands, if they were to be ſold at twenty-two years purchaſe, would raiſe a ſum of 2,428,800*l.* reſerving to the biſhops their preſent rents, only excluding fines.

Of this ſum I propoſe that out of the one half, which amounts to 1,214,400*l.* ſo much be applied, as will intirely diſcharge the debts of the nation; and the remainder be laid up in the treaſury, to ſupply contingencies, as well as to diſcharge ſome of our heavy taxes, until the kingdom ſhall be in a better condition.

But, whereas the preſent ſett of biſhops would be great loſers by this

ſcheme for want of their fines; which would be hard treatment to ſuch *religious*, *loyal*, and *deſerving* perſonages; I have therefore ſet apart the other half to ſupply that defect, which it will more than ſufficiently do.

A biſhop's leaſe for the full term is reckoned to be worth eleven years purchaſe; but, if we take the biſhops round, I ſuppoſe there may be four years of each leaſe elapſed; and many of the biſhops being well ſtricken in years, I cannot think their lives round to be worth more than ſeven years purchaſe; ſo that the purchaſers may very well afford fifteen years purchaſe for the reverſion, eſpecially by one great additional advantage, which I ſhall ſoon mention.

This ſum of 2,428,800 *l.* muſt likewiſe be ſunk very conſiderably; becauſe the lands are to be ſold only at fifteen years purchaſe, and this leſſens the ſum to about 1,656,000 *l.* of which I propoſe twelve hundred thouſand pounds to be applied partly for the payment of the national debt, and partly as a fund for

for future exigencies; and the remaining 456,000 *l.* I propoſe as a fund for paying the preſent ſett of biſhops their fines; which it will abundantly do, and a great part remain as an addition to the public ſtock.

Although the biſhops round do not in reality receive three fines a-piece, which take up 21 years, yet I allow it to be ſo; but then I will ſuppoſe them to take but one year's rent in recompence of giving them ſo large a term of life; and thus multiplying 36,800 by 3, the product will be only 110,400 *l.* ſo that above three fourths will remain to be applied to public uſe.

If I have made wrong computations, I hope to be excuſed, as a ſtranger to the kingdom; which I never ſaw till I was called to an employment, and yet where I intend to paſs the reſt of my days; but I took care to get the beſt informations I could, and from the moſt proper perſons; however, the miſtakes I may have been guilty of will very little affect the main of my propoſal; although they ſhould cauſe a difference of

of one hundred thouſand pounds more or leſs.

Theſe fines are only to be paid to the biſhop during his incumbency in the ſame ſee: if he change it for a better, the purchaſers of the vacant ſee lands are to come immediately into poſſeſſion of the ſee he hath left; and both the biſhop who is removed, and he who comes into his place, are to have no more fines; for the removed biſhop will find his account by a larger revenue; and the other ſee will find candidates enough. For the law-maxim will here have place: *caveat emptor*; I mean, the perſons who ſucceed may chuſe whether they will accept or no.

As to the purchaſers, they will probably be tenants to the ſee, who are already in poſſeſſion, and can afford to give more than any other bidder.

I will further explain myſelf. If a perſon already a biſhop be removed into a richer ſee, he muſt be content with the bare revenues without any fines; and ſo muſt he who comes into a biſhoprick vacant by death: and this will

will bring the matter ſooner to bear; which if the crown ſhall think fit to countenance, will ſoon change the preſent ſett of biſhops; and conſequently encourage purchaſers of their lands. For example: if a primate ſhould die, and the gradation be wiſely made, almoſt the whole ſett of biſhops might be changed in a month, each to his great advantage, although no fines were to be got, and thereby ſave a great part of that ſum which I have appropriated towards ſupplying the deficiency of fines.

I have valued the biſhops lands two years purchaſe above the uſual computed rate, becauſe thoſe lands will have a ſanction from the king and council in *England*, and be confirmed by an act of parliament here: beſides, it is well known, that higher prices are given every day for worſe lands, at the remoteſt diſtances, and at rack-rents, which I take to be occaſioned by want of trade: when there are few borrowers, and the little money in private hands lying dead, there is no other way

to diſpoſe of it but in buying of land; which conſequently makes the owners hold it ſo high.

Beſides paying the nation's debts, the ſale of theſe lands would have many other good effects upon the nation. It will conſiderably increaſe the number of gentry, where the biſhops tenants are not able or willing to purchaſe; for the lands will afford an hundred gentlemen a good revenue to each: ſeveral perſons from *England* will probably be glad to come over hither, and be the buyers, rather than give thirty years purchaſe at home under the loads of taxes for the publick and the poor, as well as repairs; by which means much money may be brought among us; and probably ſome of the purchaſers themſelves may be content to live cheap in a worſe country, rather than be at the charge of exchange and agencies; and perhaps of *non-ſolvencies* in abſence, if they let their lands too high.

This propoſal will alſo multiply farmers, when the purchaſers will have lands in their own power to give long and

and eaſy leaſes to induſtrious huſbandmen.

I have allowed ſome biſhopricks, of equal income, to be of more or leſs value to the purchaſer, according as they are circumſtanced. For inſtance: the lands of the primacy and ſome other ſees are let ſo low, that they hardly pay a fifth penny of the real value to the biſhop; and there the fines are the greater. On the contrary, the ſees of *Meath* and *Clonfert* conſiſting, as I am told, much of tithes, thoſe tithes are annually let to the tenants without any fines. So the ſee of *Dublin* is ſaid to have many fee-farms, which pay no fines; and ſome leaſes for lives, which pay very little, and not ſo ſoon nor ſo duly.

I cannot but be confident, that their graces my lords the archbiſhops, and my lords the biſhops, will heartily join in this propoſal, out of gratitude to his late and preſent majeſty, the beſt of kings, who have beſtowed on them ſuch high and opulent ſtations; as well as in pity to this country, which is now

become their own; whereby they will be inſtrumental towards paying the nation's debts without impoveriſhing themſelves; enrich an hundred gentlemen, as well as free them from dependency; and thus remove that envy, which is apt to fall upon their graces and lordſhips from conſiderable perſons, whoſe birth and fortunes rather qualify them to be lords of manors, than ſervile dependents upon churchmen however dignified or diſtinguiſhed.

If I do not flatter myſelf, there could not be any law more popular than this. For the immediate tenants to biſhops, being ſome of them perſons of quality and good eſtates, and more of them grown up to be gentlemen by the profits of theſe very leaſes under a ſucceſſion of biſhops, think it a diſgrace to be ſubject both to rents and fines at the pleaſure of their landlords. Then the bulk of the tenants, eſpecially the *diſſenters*, who are our *true loyal* proteſtant brethren, look upon it both as an unnatural and iniquitous thing, that biſhops ſhould be owners of land at all

(wherein I beg to differ from them), being a point ſo contrary to the practice of the apoſtles, whoſe ſucceſſors they are deemed to be; and who, although they were contented that land ſhould be ſold for the common uſe of the brethren, yet would not buy it themſelves, but had it laid at their feet to be diſtributed to poor proſelytes.

I will add one word more; that by ſuch a wholeſome law all the oppreſſions felt by under-tenants of church leaſes, which are now laid on the biſhops, would entirely be prevented, by their graces and lordſhips conſenting to have their lands ſold for payment of the nation's debts; reſerving only the preſent rent for their own plentiful and honourable ſupport.

I beg leave to add one particular; that, when heads of a bill (as I find the ſtyle runs in this kingdom) ſhall be brought in for forming this propoſal into a law, I ſhould humbly offer, that there might be a power given to every biſhop, except thoſe who reſide in *Dublin*, for applying one hundred acres

of profitable land, that lies neareſt his palace, as a demeſne for the convenience of his family.

I know very well, that this ſcheme hath been much talked of for ſome time paſt, and is in the thoughts of many patriots; neither was it properly mine, although I fell readily into it, when it was firſt communicated to me.

Although I am almoſt a perfect ſtranger in this kingdom; yet ſince I have accepted an employment here of ſome conſequence as well as profit, I cannot but think myſelf in duty bound to conſult the intereſt of people among whom I have been ſo well received. And if I can be any way inſtrumental towards contributing to reduce this excellent propoſal into a law (which being not in the leaſt injurious to *England* will, I am confident, meet with no oppoſition from that ſide), my ſincere endeavours to ſerve this church and kingdom will be well rewarded.

AN

AN

EXAMINATION

OF

Certain Abuſes, Corruptions, and Enormities, in the City of Dublin.

Written in the Year 1732.

NOthing is held more commendable, in all great cities, eſpecially the metropolis of a kingdom, than what the *French* call the *police:* by which word is meant the government thereof, to prevent the many diſorders occaſioned by great numbers of people and carriages, eſpecially through narrow ſtreets. In this government our famous city of *Dublin* is ſaid to be very defective, and univerſally complained of. Many wholeſome laws have been enacted to correct thoſe abuſes, but are ill executed; and many more are wanting; which I hope the united wiſdom of the nation (whereof ſo many good effects have already appeared this ſeſſion) will ſoon take into their profound conſideration.

As I have been always watchful over the good of mine own country, and particularly for that of our renowned city, where *(abſit invidia)* I had the honour to draw my firſt breath; I cannot have a minute's eaſe or patience to forbear enumerating ſome of the greateſt enormities, abuſes, and corruptions, ſpread almoſt through every part of *Dublin*; and propoſing ſuch remedies, as I hope the legiſlature will approve of.

The narrow compaſs to which I have confined myſelf in this paper, will allow me only to touch the moſt important defects; and ſuch as I think ſeem to require the moſt ſpeedy redreſs.

And firſt; perhaps there was never known a wiſer inſtitution than that of allowing certain perſons of both ſexes in large and populous cities to cry through the ſtreets many neceſſaries of life: it would be endleſs to recount the conveniencies, which our city enjoys by this uſeful invention; and particularly ſtrangers forced hither by buſineſs, who reſide here but a ſhort time: for theſe, having uſually but little money, and being

being wholly ignorant of the town, might at an eaſy price purchaſe a tolerable dinner, if the ſeveral criers would pronounce the names of the goods they have to ſell in any tolerable language. And therefore, until our law-makers ſhall think it proper to interpoſe ſo far as to make thoſe traders pronounce their words in ſuch terms that a plain Chriſtian hearer may comprehend what is cried, I would adviſe all new comers to look out at their garret windows, and there ſee whether the thing that is cried be *tripes* or *flummery*, *butter-milk* or *cow-heels*. For as things are now managed, how is it poſſible for an honeſt countryman juſt arrived to find out what is meant, for inſtance, by the following words, with which his ears are conſtantly ſtunned twice a day, *muggs, juggs, and porringers, up in the garret, and down in the cellar*; I ſay, how is it poſſible for any ſtranger to underſtand, that this jargon is meant as an invitation to buy a farthing's-worth of milk for his breakfaſt or ſupper, unleſs his curioſity draws him to the window,

dow, or until his landlady ſhall inform him? I produce this only as one inſtance among a hundred much worſe, I mean, where the words make a ſound wholly inarticulate, which give ſo much diſturbance, and ſo little information.

The affirmation ſolemnly made in the cry of *herrings* is directly againſt all truth and probability; *herrings alive, alive here*; the very proverb will convince us of this; for what is more frequent in ordinary ſpeech, than to ſay of ſome neighbour for whom the paſſing-bell rings, that *he is dead as a herring*? And pray how is it poſſible, that a *herring*, which, as *philoſophers* obſerve, cannot live longer than one minute three ſeconds and a half out of water, ſhould bear a voyage in open boats from *Howth* to *Dublin*, be toſſed into twenty hands, and preſerve its life in ſieves for ſeveral hours? nay, we have witneſſes ready to produce, that many thouſands of theſe *herrings*, ſo impudently aſſerted to be alive, have been a day and a night upon dry land. But this is not the worſt. What can we think of thoſe impious

wretches

wretches who dare in the face of the ſun vouch the very ſame affirmative of their *ſalmon*, and cry *ſalmon alive, alive*; whereas, if you call the woman who cries it, ſhe is not aſhamed to turn back her mantle, and ſhew you this individual *ſalmon* cut into a dozen pieces? I have given good advice to theſe infamous diſgracers of their ſex and calling, without the leaſt appearance of remorſe, and fully againſt the conviction of their own conſciencies; I have mentioned this grievance to ſeveral of our pariſh miniſters; but all in vain: ſo that it muſt continue, until the government ſhall think fit to interpoſe.

There is another *cry*, which, from the ſtricteſt obſervation I can make, appears to be very modern, and it is that of * *ſweet hearts*; and is plainly intended for a reflexion upon the female ſex; as if there were at preſent ſo great a dearth of lovers, that the women, inſtead of receiving preſents from men, were now forced to offer money to purchaſe *ſweet hearts*. Nei-

* A ſort of ſugar-cakes in the ſhape of hearts.

ther

ther am I ſure, that this *cry* doth not glance at ſome diſaffection againſt the government; inſinuating, that while ſo many of our troops are engaged in foreign ſervice, and ſuch a great number of our gallant officers conſtantly reſide in *England*, the ladies are forced to take up with *parſons* and *attornies*: but this is a moſt unjuſt reflexion, as may ſoon be proved by any perſon who frequents the *caſtle*, our public walks, our balls and aſſemblies; where the crowds of * *toupees* were never known to ſwarm as they do at preſent.

There is a *cry* peculiar to this city, which I do not remember to have been uſed in *London*; or at leaſt not in the ſame terms that it hath been practiſed by both parties during each of their power, but very unjuſtly by the *tories*. While theſe were at the helm, they grew daily more and more impatient to put all true *whigs* and *Hanoverians* out of employments: to effect which, they hired certain ordinary fellows with large

* A new name for a modern periwig with a long black tail, and for its owner; now in faſhion, *Dec.* 1, 1733.

baſkets

baſkets on their ſhoulders to call aloud at every houſe, *Dirt to carry out*; giving that denomination to our whole party; as if they would ſignify, that the kingdom could never be *cleanſed*, until we were *ſwept* from the earth like *rubbiſh*. But, ſince that happy turn of times, when we were ſo *miraculouſly* preſerved by juſt an *inch* from *popery*, *ſlavery*, *maſſacre*, and the *pretender*, I muſt own it is prudence in us ſtill to go on with the ſame *cry*; which hath ever ſince been ſo effectually obſerved, that the true *political dirt* is wholly removed, and thrown on its proper dunghills, there to corrupt and be no more heard of.

But to proceed to other enormities: every perſon who walks the ſtreets muſt needs obſerve an immenſe number of human excrements at the doors and ſteps of waſte houſes, and at the ſides of every dead wall; for which the diſaffected party hath aſſigned a very falſe and malicious cauſe: they would have it, that theſe heaps were laid there privately by *Britiſh fundaments*, to make the world believe that our *Iriſh* vulgar do

do daily eat and drink; and conſequently that the clamour of poverty among us muſt be falſe, proceeding only from *jacobites* and *papiſts*. They would confirm this by pretending to obſerve, that a *Britiſh anus* being more narrowly perforated than one of our own country, and many of theſe excrements, upon a ſtrict view, appearing copple crowned with a point like a cone or pyramid, are eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the *Hibernian*, which lie much flatter and with leſs continuity. I communicated this conjecture to an eminent phyſician, who is well verſed in ſuch profound ſpeculations; and at my requeſt was pleaſed to make trial with each of his fingers, by thruſting them into the *anus* of ſeveral perſons of both nations, and profeſſed he could find no ſuch difference between them as thoſe ill-diſpoſed people alledge. On the contrary, he aſſured me, that much the greater number of narrow cavities were of *Hibernian* origin. This I only mention, to ſhew how ready the *jacobites* are to lay hold of any handle to expreſs their malice againſt the government.

vernment. I had almoſt forgot to add, that my friend the phyſician could, by ſmelling each finger, diſtinguiſh the *Hibernian* excrement from the *Britiſh*, and was not above twice miſtaken in an hundred experiments; upon which he intends very ſoon to publiſh a learned diſſertation.

There is a diverſion in this city, which uſually begins among the *butchers*, but is often continued by a ſucceſſion of other people through many ſtreets; it is called the COSSING *of a dog:* and I may juſtly number it among our corruptions. The ceremony is thus: a ſtrange dog happens to paſs through a fleſh-market; whereupon an expert *butcher* immediately cries in a loud voice and the proper tone, *coſs*, *coſs*, ſeveral times. The ſame word is repeated by the people. The dog, who perfectly underſtands the terms of art, and conſequently the danger he is in, immediately flies. The people, and even his own *brother animals*, purſue: the purſuit and cry attend him perhaps half a mile; he is well worried in his flight; and

and ſometimes hardly eſcapes. This our ill-wiſhers of the *jacobite* kind are pleaſed to call a *perſecution*; and affirm, that it always falls upon *dogs* of the *tory* principle. But we can well defend ourſelves by juſtly alledging, that, when they were uppermoſt, they treated our *dogs* full as inhumanly. As to my own part, who have in former times often attended theſe *proceſſions*, although I can very well diſtinguiſh between a *whig* and *tory dog*, yet I never carried my reſentment very far from a *party principle*, except it were againſt certain malicious *dogs*, who moſt diſcovered their enmity againſt us in the *worſt of times* *. And I remember too well, that in the wicked miniſtry of the earl of *Oxford* a large maſtiff of our party, being unmercifully *coſſed*, ran without thinking between my legs, as I was coming up *Fiſhamble-ſtreet*; and, as I am of low ſtature with very ſhort legs, bore me riding backwards down the hill for above two hundred yards: and although

* A cant word uſed by the *whigs* for the four laſt years of queen *Anne's* reign, during the earl of *Oxford's* miniſtry.

I made

I made uſe of his tail for a bridle, holding it faſt with both my hands, and clung my legs as cloſe to his ſides as I could; yet we both came down together into the middle of the kennel; where after rowling three or four times over each other, I got up with much ado amidſt the ſhouts and huzzas of a thouſand malicious *jacobites*. I cannot indeed but gratefully acknowledge, that for this and many other *ſervices* and *ſufferings* * I have been ſince more than over-paid.

This adventure may perhaps have put me out of love with the diverſion of *coſſing*, which I confeſs myſelf an enemy to, unleſs we could always be ſure of diſtinguiſhing *tory dogs*, whereof great numbers have ſince been ſo prudent as entirely to change their principles, and are now juſtly eſteemed the beſt *worriers* of their former friends.

I am aſſured, and partly know, that all the chimney-ſweepers boys, where members of parliament chiefly lodge, are hired by *our enemies* to ſculk

* See the apology for the *Tale of a Tub*.

in the tops of chimnies with their heads no higher than will juſt permit them to look round; and at the uſual hours when members are going to the houſe, if they ſee a coach ſtand near the lodging of any *loyal* member, they call *coach*, *coach*, as loud as they can bawl, juſt at the inſtant when the footman begins to give the ſame call. And this is chiefly done on thoſe days when any point of importance is to be debated. This practice may be of very dangerous conſequence; for theſe boys are all hired by enemies to the government: and thus by the abſence of a few members for a few minutes a queſtion may be carried againſt the *true intereſt* of the kingdom, and very probably not without an eye towards the *pretender*.

I have not obſerved the wit and fancy of this town ſo much employed in any one article, as that of contriving variety of ſigns to hang over houſes where *punch* is to be ſold. The bowl is repreſented full of *punch*; the ladle ſtands erect in the middle, ſupported ſometimes by one and ſometimes by two animals, whoſe feet

feet reſt upon the edge of the bowl. Theſe animals are ſometimes one black *lion*, and ſometimes a couple; ſometimes a ſingle *eagle*, and ſometimes a ſpread one; and we often meet a *crow*, a *ſwan*, a *bear*, or a *cock*, in the ſame poſture.

Now, I cannot find how any of theſe animals either ſeparate or in conjunction are, properly ſpeaking, fit emblems or embelliſhments to advance the ſale of *punch*. Beſides, it is agreed among *naturaliſts*, that no brute can endure the taſte of ſtrong liquor, except where he hath been uſed to it from his infancy; and conſequently it is againſt all the rules of *hieroglyph* to aſſign thoſe animals as patrons or protectors of *punch*. For in that caſe we ought to ſuppoſe that the hoſt keeps always ready the real bird or beaſt, whereof the picture hangs over his door, to entertain his gueſts; which however to my knowledge is not true in fact; not one of thoſe birds being a proper companion for a *Chriſtian*, as to aiding and aſſiſting in making the *punch*. For as they are drawn upon the

ſign, they are much more likely to mute, or ſhed their feathers into the liquor. Then as to the *bear*, he is too terrible, aukward, and ſlovenly a companion to converſe with; neither are any of them all *handy* enough to fill liquor to the company: I do therefore vehemently ſuſpect a *plot* intended againſt the government by theſe devices. For although the *ſpread-eagle* be the arms of *Germany*, upon which account it may poſſibly be a lawful *proteſtant* ſign, yet I, who am very ſuſpicious of fair outſides in a matter which ſo nearly concerns our welfare, cannot but call to mind, that the *pretender's* wife is ſaid to be of *German* birth; and that many *Popiſh* princes in ſo vaſt an extent of land are reported to excel both at making and drinking *punch:* beſides, it is plain that the *ſpread-eagle* exhibits to us the perfect figure of a *croſs*, which is a badge of *popery*. Then as to the *cock*, he is well known to repreſent the *French* nation, our old and dangerous enemy. The *ſwan*, who muſt of neceſſity cover the entire bowl with his wings,

wings, can be no other than the *Spaniard*, who endeavours to engroſs all the treaſures of the *Indies* to himſelf. The *lion* is indeed the common emblem of royal power, as well as the arms of *England*; but to paint him black is perfect *jacobitiſm*, and a manifeſt type of thoſe who *blacken* the actions of the beſt princes. It is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh whether that other fowl painted over the *punch-bowl* be a *crow* or a *raven*. It is true, they have both been ominous birds: but I rather take it to be the former; becauſe it is the diſpoſition of a *crow* to pick out the eyes of other creatures, and often even of *Chriſtians*, after they are dead; and is therefore drawn here with a deſign to put the *jacobites* in mind of their old practice, firſt to lull us aſleep (which is an emblem of death), and then to blind our eyes, that we may not ſee their dangerous practices againſt the ſtate.

To ſpeak my private opinion; the leaſt offenſive picture in the whole ſett ſeems to be the *bear*; becauſe he repreſents *urſa major*, or the *great bear*,

who preſides over the *north*, where the *Reformation* firſt began; and which, next to *Britain* (including *Scotland* and the *north* of *Ireland*) is the great protector of the *true proteſtant* religion. But however, in thoſe ſigns where I obſerve the *bear* to be *chained*, I cannot help ſurmiſing a *jacobite* contrivance; by which theſe traitors hint an earneſt deſire of uſing all *true whigs*, as their predeceſſors did the primitive Chriſtians: I mean, to repreſent us as *bears*, and then halloo their *tory-dogs* to bait us to death.

Thus I have given a fair account of what I diſlike in all the ſigns ſet over thoſe houſes that invite us to *punch*. I own it was a matter that did not need explaining, being ſo very obvious to common underſtanding; yet I know not how it happens, but methinks there ſeems a fatal blindneſs to overſpread our corporeal eyes, as well as our intellectual; and I heartily wiſh I may be found a falſe prophet; for theſe are not bare ſuſpicions, but manifeſt demonſtrations.

Therefore,

Therefore, away with theſe *popiſh*, *jacobitiſh*, and idolatrous gew-gaws. And I heartily wiſh a law were enacted under ſevere penalties againſt drinking *punch* at all; for nothing is eaſier than to prove it a diſaffected liquor: the chief ingredients, which are *brandy*, *oranges*, and *lemons*, are all ſent us from *popiſh* countries; and nothing remains of *proteſtant* growth but *ſugar* and *water*. For as to biſcuit, which formerly was held a neceſſary ingredient, and is truly *Britiſh*, we find it is entirely rejected.

But I will put the truth of my aſſertion paſt all doubt: I mean, that this liquor is by one important innovation grown of ill example, and dangerous conſequence to the publick. It is well known, that, by the true original inſtitution of making *punch* left us by captain *Ratcliff*, the ſharpneſs is only occaſioned by the juice of *lemons*; and ſo continued until after the happy *revolution*. *Oranges*, alas! are a mere innovation, and in a manner *but of yeſterday*. It was the politicks of *jacobites*

to introduce them gradually; and to what intent? the thing ſpeaks itſelf. It was cunningly to ſhew their virulence againſt his ſacred majeſty king *William of ever glorious and immortal memory*. But of late (to ſhew how faſt diſloyalty increaſeth) they came from one to two, and then to three *oranges*; nay at preſent we often find *punch* made all with *oranges*, and not one ſingle *lemon*. For the *jacobites*, before the death of that immortal prince, had by a ſuperſtition formed a private prayer, that as they *ſqueezed* the *orange*, ſo might that *proteſtant* king be *ſqueezed* to death; according to the known *ſorcery* deſcribed by *Virgil*;

Limus ut hic dureſcit, et hæc ut cera liqueſcit, etc.

And thus the *Romans*, when they ſacrificed an ox, uſed this kind of prayer; *As I knock down this ox, ſo may'ſt thou, O* Jupiter! *knock down our enemies*. In like manner after king *William's* death, whenever a *jacobite ſqueezed* an *orange*, he had a mental curſe upon the *glorious memory*, and a hearty wiſh for power

to

to *ſqueeze* all his majeſty's friends to death as he *ſqueezed* that *orange*, which bore one of his titles, as he was prince of *Orange*. This I do affirm for truth, many of that faction having confeſſed it to me under an *oath of ſecrecy*, which however I thought it my duty not to keep when I ſaw my dear country in danger. But what better can be expected from an *impious* ſett of men, who never ſcruple to drink CONFUSION to all *true proteſtants* under the name of *whigs?* A moſt unchriſtian and inhuman practice; *which to our great honour and comfort was* never *charged upon us, even by our moſt malicious detractors.*

The ſign of two *angels* hovering in the air, and with their right hands ſupporting a *crown*, is met with in ſeveral parts of this city, and hath often given me great offence: for, whether by the unſkilfulneſs or dangerous principles of the painters (although I have good reaſons to ſuſpect the latter), thoſe *angels* are uſually drawn with ſuch horrid, or indeed rather diabolical *countenances*, that they give great offence to every loyal

loyal eye, and equal cauſe of triumph to the *jacobite*, being a moſt infamous reflexion upon our able and excellent miniſtry.

I now return to that great enormity of city *cries*; moſt of which we have borrowed from *London*. I ſhall conſider them only in a *political* view, as they nearly affect the peace and ſafety of both kingdoms; and having been originally contrived by wicked *Machiavels* to bring in *popery*, *ſlavery*, and *arbitrary power*, by defeating the *proteſtant* ſucceſſion and introducing the *pretender*, ought in juſtice to be here laid open to the world.

About two or three months after the happy *Revolution*, all perſons who poſſeſſed any employment or office, in church or ſtate, were obliged by an act of parliament to take the oaths to king *William* and queen *Mary*: and a great number of diſaffected perſons refuſing to take the ſaid oaths from a pretended ſcruple of conſcience, but really from a ſpirit of *popery* and rebellion, they contrived a plot to make the ſwearing

to

to thoſe princes odious in the eyes of the people. To this end, they hired certain women of ill fame, but loud ſhrill voices, under pretence of ſelling fiſh, to go through the ſtreets with ſieves on their heads, and cry *buy my ſoul, buy my ſoul*; plainly inſinuating, that all thoſe who ſwore to king *William* were juſt ready to ſell their *ſouls* for an employment. This cry was revived at the death of queen *Anne*, and, I hear, ſtill continues in *London* with much offence to all *true proteſtants*; but to our great happineſs ſeems to be almoſt dropt in *Dublin*.

But becauſe I altogether contemn the diſpleaſure and reſentment of *high-flyers*, *tories*, and *jacobites*, whom I look upon to be *worſe even than profeſs'd papiſts*, I do here declare, that thoſe evils which I am going to mention were all brought in upon us in the *worſt of times* under the late earl of *Oxford's* adminiſtration, during the four laſt years of queen *Anne's* reign. *That wicked miniſter was univerſally known to be a papiſt in his heart.*

heart. * *He was of a moſt avaritious nature, and is ſaid to have died worth four millions* ſterl. *beſides his vaſt expence in building, ſtatues, plate, jewels, and other coſtly rarities. He was of a mean obſcure birth, from the very dregs of the people; and ſo illiterate that he could hardly read a paper at the council table. I forbear to touch on his open, profane, profligate life; becauſe I deſire not to rake into the aſhes of the dead: and therefore I ſhall obſerve this wiſe maxim*; de mortuis nil niſi bonum.

This flagitious man, in order to compaſs his black deſigns, employed certain wicked inſtruments (which great ſtateſmen are never without) to adapt ſeveral *London* cries in ſuch a manner as would beſt anſwer his ends. And whereas it was upon good grounds grievouſly ſuſpected, that all *places* at court were ſold to the higheſt bidder; certain women were employed by his emiſſaries to carry *fiſh* in baſkets on their heads,

* The author's meaning is juſt contrary to the literal ſenſe in the character of lord *Oxford.*

and

and bawl through the ſtreets, *buy my freſh places*. I muſt indeed own that other women uſed the ſame cry, who were innocent of this wicked deſign, and really ſold fiſh of that denomination to get an honeſt livelihood; but the reſt, who were in the *ſecret*, although they carried *fiſh* in their ſieves or baſkets to ſave appearances, yet they had likewiſe a certain ſign, ſomewhat reſembling that of the *free-maſons*, which the purchaſers of *places* knew well enough, and were directed by the women whither they were to reſort and make their purchaſe. And I remember very well how oddly it looked, when we obſerved many gentlemen finely dreſt about the court-end of the town, and as far as *York-buildings* where the lord-treaſurer *Oxford* dwelt, calling the women who cried *buy my freſh places*, and talking to them in the corner of a ſtreet until they underſtood each other's ſign. But we never could obſerve that any fiſh was bought.

Some years before the cries laſt mentioned, the duke of *Savoy* was report-

ed to have made certain overtures to the court of *England* for admitting his eldeſt ſon by the ducheſs of *Orleans's* daughter to ſucceed to the crown, as next heir, upon the *pretender's* being rejected; and that ſon was immediately to turn *proteſtant*. It was confidently reported, that great numbers of people diſaffected to the then *illuſtrious*, but now *royal*, houſe of *Hanover* were in thoſe meaſures. Whereupon another ſett of women were hired by the *jacobite* leaders to cry through the whole town, *buy my* Savoys, *dainty* Savoys, *curious* Savoys. But I cannot directly charge the late earl of *Oxford* with this *conſpiracy*, becauſe he was not then chief miniſter. However, this wicked cry ſtill continues in *London*, and was brought over hither, where it remains to this day, and is in my humble opinion a very offenſive ſound to every true *proteſtant*, who is old enough to remember thoſe *dangerous* times.

During the miniſtry of that corrupt and *jacobite* earl above mentioned, the ſecret pernicious deſign of thoſe in

power was to ſell *Flanders* to *France*: the conſequence of which muſt have been the infallible ruin of the *States-general*, and would have opened the way for *France* to obtain that univerſal monarchy they have ſo long aimed at; to which the *Britiſh* dominions muſt next after *Holland* have been compelled to ſubmit, whereby the *proteſtant* religion would be rooted out of the world.

A deſign of this vaſt importance, after long conſultation among the *jacobite* grandees with the earl of *Oxford* at their head, was at laſt determined to be carried on by the ſame method with the former: it was therefore again put in practice; but the conduct of it was chiefly left to choſen men, whoſe voices were louder and ſtronger than thoſe of the other ſex: and upon this occaſion was firſt inſtituted in *London* that famous cry of FLOUNDERS. But the criers were particularly directed to pronounce the word *Flaunders*, and not *flounders*. For the country which we now by corruption call *Flanders*, is in its true orthography ſpelt *Flaunders*, as may be obvious

vious to all who read old *Engliſh* books. I ſay, from hence began that thundering cry, which hath ever ſince ſtunned the ears of all *London*, made ſo many children fall into fits, and women miſcarry; *come buy my freſh* flaunders, *curious* flaunders, *charming* flaunders, *alive, alive, ho*; which laſt words can with no propriety of ſpeech be applied to fiſh manifeſtly dead (as I obſerved before in *herrings* and *ſalmon)*, but very juſtly to ten provinces containing many millions of living *Chriſtians*. But the application is ſtill cloſer when we conſider that all the people were to be taken like *fiſhes* in a net; and, by aſſiſtance of the *pope*, who ſets up to be the *univerſal fiſher of men*, the whole innocent nation was, according to our common expreſſion, to be *laid as flat as a flounder*.

I remember, myſelf, a particular crier of *flounders* in *London*, who arrived at ſo much fame for the loudneſs of his voice, as to have the honour of being mentioned upon that account in a comedy. He hath diſturbed me many a morning before he came within fifty doors

doors of my lodging: and although I were not in thoſe days ſo fully ſurprized of the deſigns which our common enemy had then in agitation, yet, I know not how, by a ſecret impulſe, young as I was, I could not forbear conceiving a ſtrong diſlike againſt the fellow; and often ſaid to myſelf, *This cry ſeems to be forged in the* jeſuits *ſchool: alas! poor* England! *I am grievouſly miſtaken, if there be not ſome* popiſh *plot at the bottom.* I communicated my thoughts to an intimate friend, who reproached me with being too viſionary in my ſpeculations: but it proved afterwards that I conjectured right. And I have ſince reflected, that, if the wicked faction could have procured only a thouſand men of as ſtrong lungs as the fellow I mentioned, none can tell how terrible the conſequences might have been, not only to theſe two kingdoms, but over all *Europe*, by ſelling *Flanders* to *France*. And yet theſe cries continue unpuniſhed both in *London* and *Dublin*; although, I confeſs, not with equal vehemency or loudneſs; becauſe the rea-

ſon, for contriving this deſperate plot is to our great felicity wholly ceaſed.

It is well known, that the majority of the *Britiſh* houſe of commons in the laſt years of queen *Anne's* reign were in their hearts directly oppoſite to the earl of *Oxford's* pernicious meaſures; which put him under the neceſſity of bribing them with ſalaries. Whereupon he had again recourſe to his old politicks. And accordingly his emiſſaries were very buſy in employing certain artful women, of no good life and converſation (as it was proved before juſtice *Peyton), to cry that vegetable commonly called *ſellery* through the town. Theſe women differ from the common criers of that herb by ſome private mark, which I could never learn; but the matter was notorious enough, and ſufficiently talked of; and about the ſame period was the cry of *ſellery* brought over into this kingdom. But ſince there is not at this preſent the leaſt occaſion to ſuſpect the loyalty of our criers upon that article, I am content that it may ſtill be tolerated. I ſhall

* A famous whig juſtice in thoſe times.

I ſhall mention but one cry more, which hath any reference to politicks; but is indeed of all others the moſt inſolent, as well as treaſonable, under our preſent happy eſtabliſhment, I mean that of *turnups*; not of *turnips* according to the beſt orthography, but abſolutely *turnups*. Although the cry be of an older date than ſome of the preceding enormities, for it began ſoon after the Revolution; yet was it never known to arrive at ſo great a height, as during the earl of *Oxford's* power. Some people (whom I take to be private enemies) are indeed as ready as myſelf to profeſs their diſapprobation of this cry, on pretence that it began by the contrivance of certain old procureſſes, who kept houſes of ill fame, where lewd women met to draw young men into vice. And this they pretend to prove by ſome words in the cry; becauſe, after the crier had bawled out, *turnups, ho, buy my dainty turnups*, he would ſometimes add the two following *verſes*,

Turn up the miſtreſs, and turn up the maid,
And turn up the daughter, and be not afraid.

This, ſay ſome political ſophiſts, plainly ſhews, that there can be nothing further meant in ſo infamous a cry, than an invitation to lewdneſs; which indeed ought to be ſeverely puniſhed in all well-regulated governments; yet cannot be fairly interpreted as a crime of ſtate. But, I hope, we are not ſo weak and blind to be deluded at this time of day with ſuch poor evaſions. I could, if it were proper, demonſtrate the very time when thoſe two verſes were compoſed, and name the author, who was no other than the famous Mr. *Swan*, ſo well known for his talent at quibbling, and was as virulent a *jacobite* as any in *England*. Neither could he deny the fact, when he was taxed for it in my preſence by Sir *Henry Dutton Colt*, and Colonel *Davenport*, at the *Smyrna* coffee-houſe, on the 10th of *June*, 1701. Thus it appears to a demonſtration, that thoſe verſes were only a blind to conceal the moſt dangerous deſigns of the party; who from the firſt years after the happy Revolution uſed a cant-way of talking in their clubs,

clubs, after this manner: *we hope to ſee the cards ſhuffled once more, and another king* TURN UP *trump:* and, *when ſhall we meet over a diſh of* TURNUPS? The ſame term of art was uſed in their plots againſt the government, and in their treaſonable letters written in cyphers, and decyphered by the famous Dr. *Willes*, as you may read in the trials of thoſe times. This I thought fit to ſet forth at large, and in ſo clear a light; becauſe the *Scotch* and *French* authors have given a very different account of the word TURNUP; but whether out of ignorance or partiality I ſhall not decree; becauſe I am ſure the reader is convinced by my diſcovery. It is to be obſerved, that this cry was ſung in a particular manner by fellows in diſguiſe, to give notice where thoſe traitors were to meet, in order to concert their villanous deſigns.

I have no more to add upon this article, than an humble propoſal, that thoſe who cry this root at preſent in our ſtreets of *Dublin* may be compelled by the juſtices of the peace to pronounce *turnip*,

turnip, and not *turnup*; for, I am afraid, we have ſtill too many ſnakes in our boſom, and it would be well if their cellars were ſometimes ſearched, when the owners leaſt expect it; for I am not out of fear, that *latet anguis in herba.*

Thus we are zealous in matters of ſmall moment, while we neglect thoſe of the higheſt importance. I have already made it manifeſt, that all theſe cries were contrived in the *worſt of times*, under the miniſtry of that deſperate ſtateſman *Robert* late earl of *Oxford*; and for that very reaſon ought to be rejected with horor, as begun in the reign of *jacobites*, and may well be numbered among the rags of *popery* and *treaſon*; or, if it be thought proper that theſe cries muſt continue, ſurely they ought to be only truſted in the hands of *true proteſtants*, who have given ſecurity to the government.

FINIS.

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Form 419